

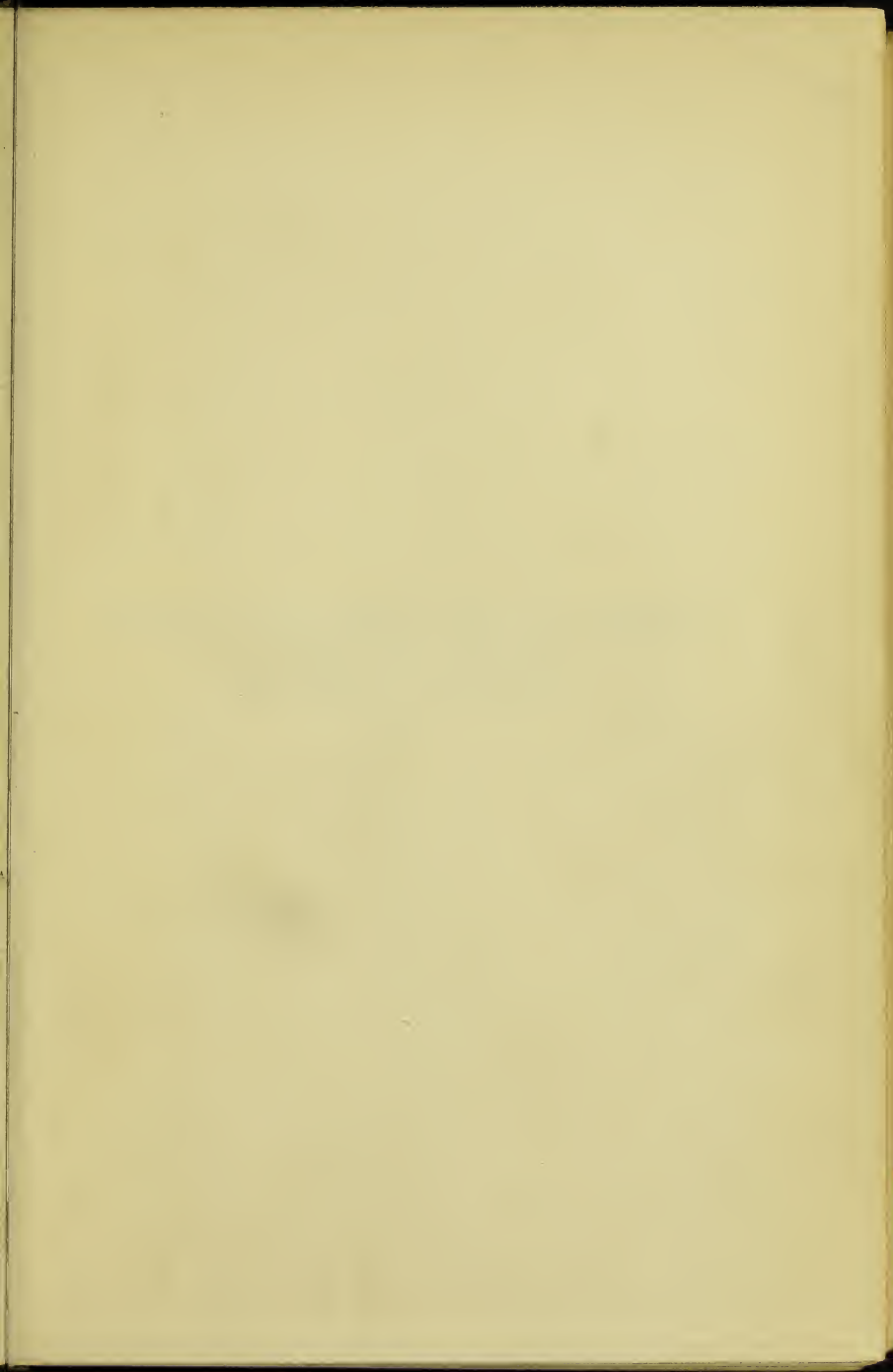
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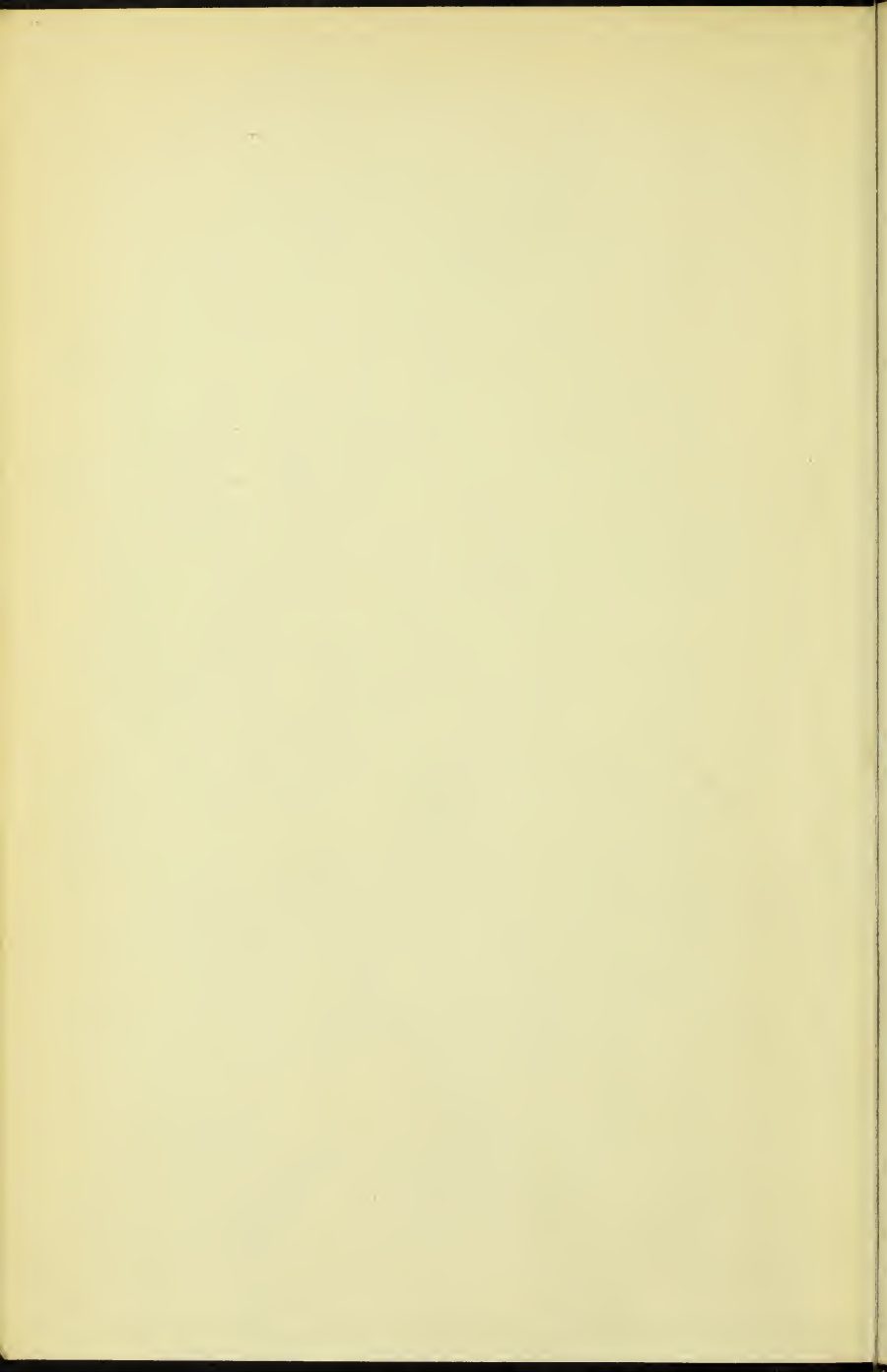
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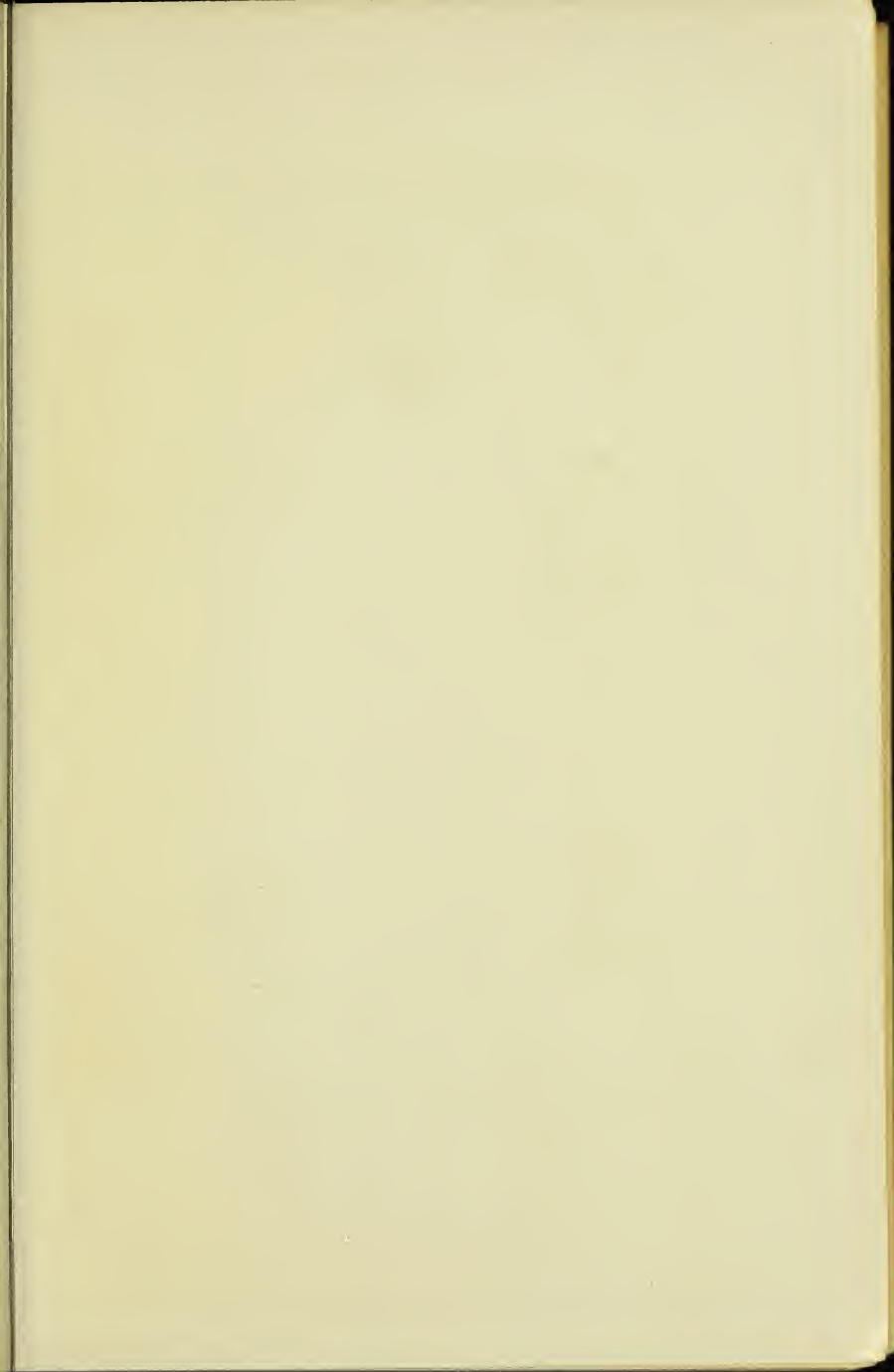




STUDIES IN THE SEXUAL LIFE OF ANCIENT
AND MEDIÆVAL PEOPLES.

I.







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MALE INFIBULATION

BY

ERIC JOHN DINGWALL, M.A.

“To what prodigious extremities doth the abused phantasie
of man sometimes drive him.”—JOHN BULWER.



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INFIBULATION



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PREFACE.

THIS volume is the first of a series of similar studies, which, if health and the heavy pressure of other work permit, I hope to compile upon some of the more obscure customs of antiquity and the Middle Ages, which in some respect or other are connected with the sexual life of man. The present work is concerned almost solely with that remarkable custom of male infibulation as seen in antiquity. In the true sense of the word infibulation is a mechanical means of ensuring chastity, but in the course of time the word has been applied to other customs. I have attempted in the succeeding pages to differentiate between at least three forms, to two of which the word *infibulation* has, I think, been wrongly applied. How far the new terminology I have suggested will meet with approval is uncertain. It matters little whether that or another nomenclature be adopted if the confusion which has lasted so long is finally dissipated.

In conclusion, I wish to express my thanks to the following friends, colleagues and institutions who have so kindly assisted me in a difficult task: Mr. A. T. Bartholomew, Mr. Hilderic Cousens, Dr. L. Hogben, the authorities and staff of the British Museum Library, of whose courtesy and efficiency I have always the most pleasant recollections; the University Library, Cambridge, and many of the college libraries; the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; the New York Public Library; Columbia University Library, New York City; the Boston Public Library; the Boston Athenæum; the Harvard College Library; the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum; the British School

at Rome, and the curators of many other collections in London, Paris, Copenhagen, Munich, New York, Boston, &c. Finally, I have to thank the authorities of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen, for so kindly allowing me to reprint, as a frontispiece, their photograph of Anacreon, and also my publishers and printers for the care with which they have prepared the MS. for press, which, owing to the number of footnotes, must have been a matter of considerable difficulty.

I have tried to avoid inaccuracies, both as regards facts and references. In spite of much care, however, errors in a work of this sort are bound to occur, and I shall be pleased to acknowledge any such mistakes if readers will kindly indicate them.

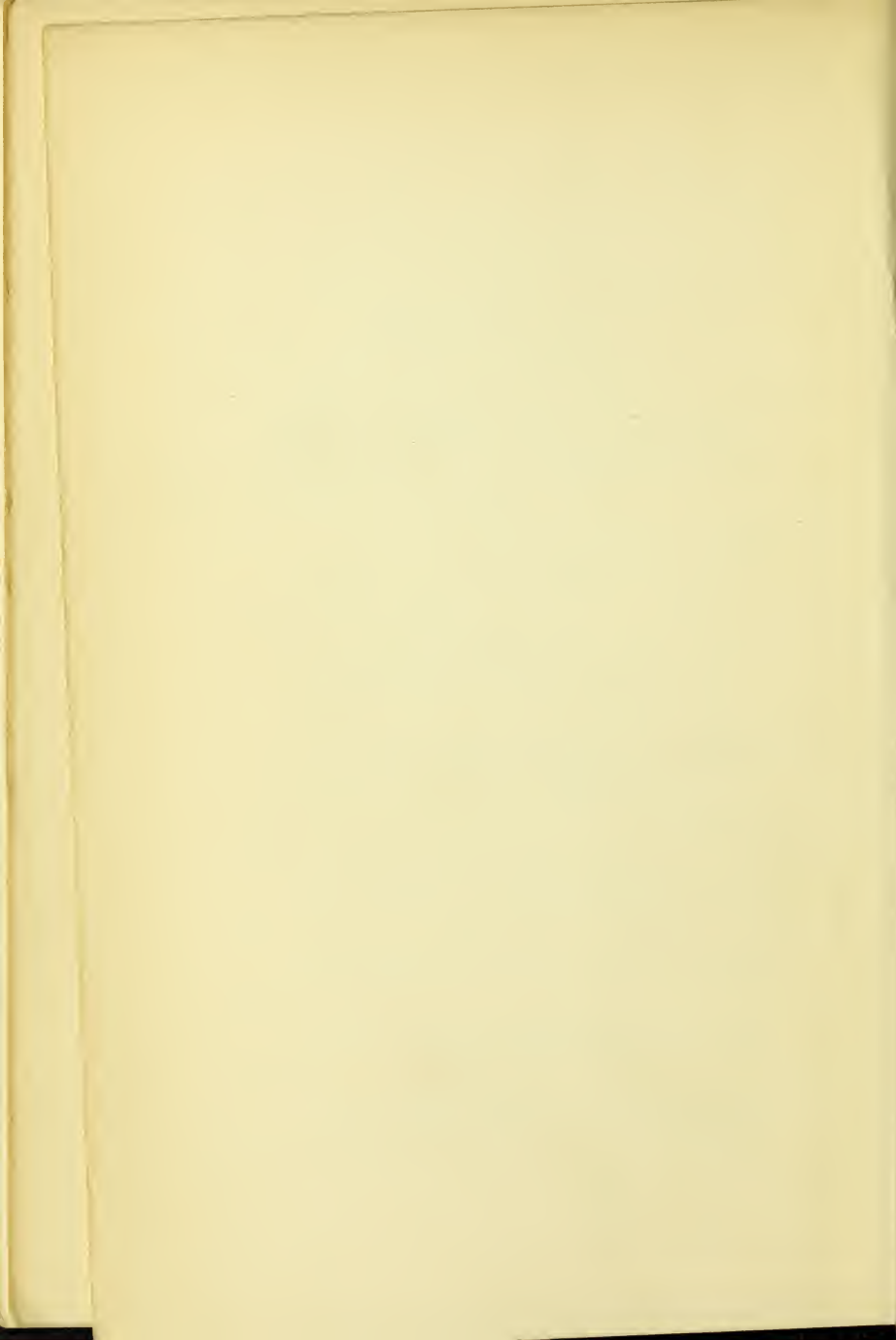
E. J. DINGWALL.

London, January 1, 1925.

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MALE INFIBULATION.

CHAPTER I.

THE ROMAN FORM.

AMONGST the many strange customs connected with the sexual life of man the practice of infibulation is one of the most curious. It is the purpose of this volume to examine this phenomenon from varied points of view in order to discover if possible some of those factors which may contribute to an understanding of its origin and meaning. In the first section I shall summarize the evidence we possess on what I may term the Roman form of infibulation; in the second I shall examine the variation of the custom as seen with the Greeks and the Etruscans; and in the third a further phenomenon will engage our attention which has up to now been ascribed by scholars to the practice as outlined in the second part.

The actual word "infibulation" as given in the Oxford Dictionary is explained thus:—

"[n. of action f., INFIBULATE v., perh. after F. infibulation (16th c. in Godef.)] The action of infibulating; spec. the fastening up of the sexual organs with a fibula or clasp. The earliest reference in English is Bulwer's *Anthropometamorphosis*¹ (1650), 202, which says, "This art of infibulation or buttoning up the

¹ In 1654 the title was changed to *A View of the People of the World*. This was a re-issue of the 1653 edition.

prepuce with a Brasse or Silver button," a description which does not give a good idea of the actual custom as we know it from the classical authors and their commentators. Before, however, attempting to give a satisfactory definition of infibulation as practised in the Roman world, it will be convenient if the passages are first examined wherein the classical authorities mention or discuss the question, and then we shall be in a position not only to appreciate fully the exact significance which can be attached to the word infibulation, but also to determine with greater accuracy the precise meaning of the term fibula when it is employed in this connection.¹

In ancient writings the references to infibulation are comparatively few.² The fullest early reference we possess, although not the earliest in point of date, is that contained in the famous work of Celsus, *De Medicina*, the first edition of which was published in Florence in 1478. Aurelius Cornelius Celsus, or Aulus as an old manuscript³ calls him, flourished in the middle half of the first century of the Christian era. The precise date and place of his birth are unknown in spite of much laborious research carried out by such patient investigators as Bernhardt, Bähr, Ritter, Isensee, Pal-

¹ The whole question received little attention until 1870 when Stephani published some conclusions and later was followed by Hovorka and Stieda. See L. Stephani, *Erklärung einiger im Jahre 1868, im südlichen Russland gefundener Gegenstände* (C. R. de la Comm. impér. arch. pour l'année 1869. St. Pétersbourg, 1870, pp. 146ff.); O. Hovorka, *Verstümmelungen des männlichen Gliedes bei einigen Völkern im Altertum und der Jetztzeit in besonderer Berücksichtigung der sogenannten Infibulation und Kynodesme* (Mitt. d. anthrop. Gesell. in Wien, 1894, xxiv, 131-143); L. Stieda, *Die Infibulation bei Griechen und Römern* (Sond.-Abd. aus d. anat. Heften (Merkel u. Bonnet), Heft 62 (Bd. xix, Heft 2), Wiesbaden, 1902); and also in *Verh. d. Gesell. Deut. Naturf. u. Aerzte* (Leipzig, 1901, Th. 2, Heft i, 286, ii, 93).

² The whole of the existing material is extremely scanty. Thus Ploss in touching upon the custom says that he has little material before him on the subject of infibulation, but comments favourably on its ethnological interest. See H. H. Ploss, *Das Kind*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig, 1911-12), vol. ii, p. 137.

³ Codex Bianconii seu Vaticanus, viii.

damus, Scheller, etc. As I am not concerned here with the critical biography of the various authors cited, I would refer those of my readers who are desirous of knowing more of this famous Roman physician and surgeon to the historical monograph on Celsus by Carl Kissel.¹ Although it is as a medical man that Celsus is chiefly noted, he wrote also on law, philosophy, history, and agriculture. The *De Medicina* itself is divided into eight books. After a short historical introduction, Celsus proceeds to discuss the two prevailing philosophical schools of his own day, namely, the rationalists and the empiricists. The third and fourth books are devoted to particular diseases and their treatment, whilst the four last books are given up to a discussion of pharmacy and certain surgical operations. It is in Lib. VII, cap. 25, sect. 3, that the operation is described.

The passage runs as follows :

Infibulare quoque adolescentulos interdum vocis, interdum valetudinis causa, quidam consuerunt: ejusque haec ratio est. Cutis, quae super glandem est, extenditur, notaturque utrimque a lateribus atramento, qua perforetur; deinde remittitur. Si super glandem notae revertuntur, nimis apprehensum est, et ultra notari debet: si glans ab his libera est, is locus idoneus fibulae est. Tum, qua notae sunt, cutis acu filum ducente transsuitur, ejusque fili capita inter se deligantur, quotidieque ad movetur, donec circa foramina cicatriculae fiant. Ubi eae confirmatae sunt, exemto filo fibula additur, quae quo levior, eo melior est. Sed hoc quidem saepius inter supervacua, quam inter necessaria est. (Ed. C. Daremberg, p. 306.)²

¹ C. Kissel, *A. C. Celsus: eine historische Monographie* (Giessen, 1844). Abt. I only was published. An excellent account will also be found in P. P. Broca's *Conférences historiques de la Faculté de Médecine. Celse* (Paris, 1865).

² There are slight variations in the readings. The most important is that concerning the words *interdum vocis*. These do not occur in the MS. at Paris, nor are they in the 1478 edition. That

The above extract is the fullest and most detailed account that has come down to us from early times, and nearly all subsequent authors in their mention of infibulation either directly refer to Celsus, or base any observations they may make upon the description borrowed from him.

From reading the passage a fairly clear idea is obtained as to the method of performing the operation, and a hint is given as to why it was used and for what purpose.

The prepuce having been drawn forward, marks are made upon it on either side, in such a manner that when the foreskin is released these marks do not return over the glans. If on trying this the glans remain free, then this will be the proper place for applying the fibula. Then, where the marks are, holes are drilled with a needle and thread, the two loose ends being tied together and run through the holes daily till they are healed, leaving only two little orifices on either side. The thread is then taken out and the fibula attached, the lighter this apparatus is the better.

The reason for the operation, which according to Celsus was performed on youths, is that it is done sometimes on account of their voice and sometimes for the sake of their health, *interdum vocis, interdum valetudinis causa*. With this short account Celsus closes, merely remarking with regard to the custom that it is more often useless than necessary. It will be noticed that he does not give us any idea as to the nature of the fibula, its shape, size or material, the only characteristic being that the lighter it is the more convenient will it be found.

The first question that presents itself is as to the

they are a later interpolation is, however, doubtful, and their meaning fits in so well with all we know of the custom, that we can well follow the editions which incorporate them as a definite part of the original scheme. Cf. L. Marie, "*Etude sur la fibule des Satyriques latins*," Union Méd., Paris, 1864, 2 s., xxi, 481-488. Cf. also for further information on the whole question pp. 492-494; 518-519; 566-568; J. Rhodius, *De Acia dissertatio ad C. Celsi mentem* (Patavii, 1639), p. 65.

exact nature of the fibula, and then we shall be able to pass on to the problem as to who the *adolescentuli* were, what was their station and profession in life, and what effect infibulation could have had upon their voice, and the general condition of their health.

The precise origin of the word FĪBULĀ, or FĪBLĀ is uncertain, but it may perhaps be connected with the word *figibula* (*figo*). It is properly an article or instrument for fastening garments together, and in this sense is employed by many classical authors. Thus Vergil in Aen. IV, 139, reads :

Aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem,

where fibula obviously means a clasp, brooch or buckle. Again Ovid in Met. II, 412, which reads :

ubi fibula vestem,
Vitta coeruerat neglectos alba capillos,

is quite clearly speaking of some sort of a clasp, and it is with this sense of brooch, pin, clasp, latchet, clamp, buckle, anything in fact which is used to fasten things together, that the word is usually employed by the ancient authors. The straight pin was generally used for fastening the dress, the fibula as represented in museums of classical archæology being of the safety-pin type, and indeed it more nearly resembles the common modern article when it is shown to be of a particularly early form. In the course of time the simple wire original form was elaborated, and later patterns have been preserved of many curious and fantastic forms. Indeed the fibula in early use can be divided into distinct types, and thus serve in many cases to show their date and place of origin where other evidence is lacking.¹

¹ See the elaborate classification adopted by O. Tischler in his *Ueber die Formen der Gewandnadeln (Fibeln)*, Beit. 2. Anthrop. u. Urgesch., Bayerns, 1881, iv, pp. 47 ff. For fibulæ of the early Greek period Undset's *Archæologische Aufsätze über sudeuropäische Fundstücke* (Zeit. f. Ethnol., 1889, xxi, pp. 205, 234) may be consulted with advantage.

In certain passages of classical antiquity, however, the word is used in a sense which does not seem able to bear that usually ascribed to it, and it is in these passages that the custom of infibulating youths appears to be dealt with. Before we are finally able to give a satisfactory account of the fibula as used in the operation as described by Celsus, it will be necessary to examine the references in the classical authorities, and it is to these that we shall now turn our attention.

The first writer who demands our most careful consideration is Marcus Valerius Martialis, the celebrated epigrammatist, who was born about A.D. 41 at Bilbilis in Spain, a spot noted for its great ironworks. It is through his biting and satirical verse that Domitian society is mirrored, and although little is known concerning the details of his life, we can read enough in his works to see that notwithstanding his somewhat free expressions and obscene wit, he was, as Dill puts it, "a keen and joyous observer of the faults and follies, the lights and shades, of a highly complex and artificial society."¹ The first passage that we shall examine is Epig. XIV, 215,² which reads:

Dic mihi simpliciter, comoedis et citharoedis
Fibula, quid praestas. Carius ut futuant.

From these lines it appears that certain comic actors and cithara³ players wore fibulæ, and the reason assigned is that by doing so their sexual attractiveness in the eyes of the opposite sex was so enhanced, that their favours could only be obtained at a higher price. How this could be brought about, and how the wearing of a fibula could increase any sexual charm that they might possess is far from clear, and we shall only be able to

¹ S. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius* (London, 1904) p. 61.

² Friedlaender's Leipzig edition (1886) has been followed throughout.

³ The cithara (Gk. *κιθάρα*) was a fairly large musical instrument having a sounding-board of wood and vertical arms.

understand it fully when we have examined the other passages from the classical authorities. Here it will be sufficient to note that where Celsus says youths Martial says comic actors and cithara players, which tells us something of the sort of people who suffered the operation to be performed.

The next extract to which we shall refer is Epig. VII, 82. This is a longer passage and runs as follows :

Menophili penem tam grandis fibula vestit,
Ut sit comoedis omnibus una satis.
Hunc ego credideram—nam saepe lavamur in unum—
Sollicitum voci parcere, Flacce, suae :
Dum ludit media populo spectante palaestra,
Delapsa est misero fibula : verpus erat.

Here we are told that in the case of the unfortunate Menophil the fibula was so large that it would suffice for all the comic actors put together. It was believed that it was worn for the sake of preserving the voice, but once when engaged in athletic pursuits, and in the presence of all the spectators, the fibula fell off and revealed the fact that the wearer was circumcised.

Before we glance at the interpretation which later commentators have placed upon this passage, it will be well if we first examine it very closely, and, whilst avoiding any interpretation which may be justly characterized as strained, we may be able to put two and two together sufficiently accurately as to give a tolerably clear idea of Martial's meaning.

The fibula is described as being so large that it would suffice for a great number of people, a statement which may be taken as a very ordinary type of exaggeration. That it was large is clear, as also that "*penem vestit*," which merely implies that when in use it covered all or a great part of the penis. When at the baths, it was thought that this precaution was taken by Menophil for the sake of his voice, a phrase which sounds startlingly familiar by the side of Celsus' *interdum vocis causa*. Indeed we can scarcely avoid concluding that in some cases the fibula of Celsus was of such a shape and

character as to conceal a portion of the penis, as in this case before it fell off it was simply thought that Menophil was wearing it for the sake of his voice. From evidence gleaned from the existence of certain bronzes to be discussed later, it is tolerably certain, and the fact is vouchsafed for by many old authors,¹ that the fibula of Celsus was in the form of a small ring, but in this Epigram it is not so, for being circumcised Menophil would have had no prepuce for the purpose of infibulation. Why he was actually wearing a piece of apparatus which could be mistaken for one used for infibulation we shall see in a later place; it is merely sufficient here to state that all commentators, or nearly all, are agreed that it was not a ring he was wearing, but something more like a case or sheath, and in Epig. XI, 75, Martial practically concedes this point. He is writing of a slave and his mistress and says:

Theca tectus ahenea lavatur
 Tecum, Caelia, servus; ut quid, oro,
 Non sit cum citharoedus, aut choraules?
 Non vis, ut puto, mentulam videre.
 Quare cum populo lavaris ergo?
 Omnes an tibi nos sumus spadones?
 Ergo, ne videaris invidere,
 Servo, Caelia, fibulam remitte.

Here is an incident related concerning the treatment of a slave by his mistress, Caelia. She is asked how it is that her servant, who is neither a cithara player nor a singer, always wears a bronze sheath (*theca*) when bathing. Can it be that she does not wish the other bathers to see his member? Lest people should be jealous Caelia is advised to have her slave's fibula removed. In this passage it is clear that by the fibula in the last line is meant the *theca* in the first, and as no ring could be said to act for the purposes of concealment, it is abundantly evident that the *theca* is similar to that worn by Menophil, and can be translated by some such

¹ Cf. the remarks of the scholiasts to be discussed later.

word as case or sheath. It will have been remarked that the fact of cithara players and singers being infibulated is hinted at in the above epigram, from which we have also gained the information that the fibula was sometimes at least constructed of bronze,¹ a fact which materially assists us in a proper understanding of Epig. IX, 27, around which there has been a good deal of controversy. The passage runs as follows:

Occurit aliquis inter ista draucus,
Jam paedagogo liberatus et cujus
Refibulavit turgidum faber penem.

The actual word *fibula* does not appear, but a verb *refibulare* is employed in the twelfth line of the Epigram whose meaning has been widely interpreted by various lexicographers and commentators. A workman (*faber*) *refibulavit turgidum penem* of a young catamite who has now escaped from the control of his teacher. As has already been said a good deal of difficulty has been experienced in giving a correct interpretation to the verb *refibulare*. Forcellini says *retexo seu solvo*, in the sense of removing or loosening, and this is the rendering adopted by nearly all prominent scholars. Stieda, however, in his important monograph on infibulation, believes that the true rendering of the word is to be found in the idea of a fresh infibulation, that is to say either in the strengthening of the existing ring, which had possibly become loose, or in the addition of a second or still heavier ring.

He says: "*Allein refibulare kann auch die Bedeutung einer erneuten Infibulation haben wie mir scheint,*" and he proceeds by stating that the word *refibulavit* means that "*es wird ihm eine neue (offenbare grossere) Fibula eingefügt und verlötet.*"² The only authority that he

¹ Thus Mantegazza writes: "*Usavasi pure, che gli schiavi che accompagnavano le dame romane ai bagni; avessero coperto il genitale con una capsula di bronzo o una cintura di cuoio nero.*" (*Gli amori degli uomini* (2 vols., Milano, 1892), I, p. 197. Cf. also Hovorka (*op. cit.*), p. 136, who translates *theca* by the word *Metallhülse*.

² Stieda (*op. cit.*), p. 252.

gives for this rendering is that of the commentator Domitian, who, he says, declares that the word signifies the addition of another and heavier ring. He does not quote the passage, but I find that in the 1480 edition the note runs thus, "*Refibulavit: idest maiore fibula cinxit crescente penne.*"¹ The reason why certain commentators have adopted this rendering is fairly obvious. The epigram speaks of a young rake, who has just been freed from the tutelage of his guardian, and whose excitement is such that his sexual ardour has to be restrained by the addition of an even heavier check than that which he is already wearing. It is true that in one sense the theory is decidedly attractive, but it can I think hardly be maintained both on philological and other grounds, especially as this rendering is not accepted, as far as I can trace, by any of the distinguished commentators who have dealt with it.² Thus Freund and Scheller give as a meaning "*wieder aufschnallen, aufhefteln,*" whilst Thomas Farnaby, who was one of the most prominent classical scholars of his time, and whose editions were extremely popular in the seventeenth century, explains the word by saying, "*Fibulam solvit et sustulit.*" The ingenious Schurig also approves of this translation writing thus:—"Nonnulli ita in juventute infibulati aetate provectiores iterum fibula liberantur; quod refibulare dicebatur, juxta eundem Martialem."³

¹ This edition (Venetiis, 1480) contains the text together with the commentary of Calderinus. It has no pagination but the reference will be found at sig. riini.

² Pierrugues translates the word by *Fibulam restituere, reponere* (*Glossarium eroticum linguae latinae*, Parisiis, 1826), p. 218, and is followed by Rambach (*Thesaurus eroticus linguae latinae*, Ed. C. Rambach, Stuttgartiae, 1833, p. 259), but they give no authority and generally speaking both of these glossaries should be used with caution. Similarly John Davenport translates the word in the sense of "*to have the damage repaired*" (*Aphrodisiacs and Anti-aphrodisiacs*, London, 1869, p. 142), but his reputation as a scholar is not supported, as far as I can see, in the quality of his work. De Pauw, on the other hand, adopts the correct rendering (*Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1768-69, vol. II, p. 144).

³ M. Schurig, *Spermatologia* (Francofurti a/M., 1720), p. 549.

Another writer who favours the same interpretation is Philander, who was born about 1505, and who says definitely that *refibulare*=*fibulam solvere*,¹ whilst the gentle antiquary Ferrarius, in discussing a passage in Juvenal to which we shall shortly turn our attention, says that those youths who discovered that the favours of Roman women were worth more than their own voices "*patiebantur se refibulati*".² Here it is quite clear what Ferrarius means by "*se refibulati*," and it is in this sense that the passage can be most easily understood. It is perfectly natural that a youth, whatever may have been the vices to which he was addicted, should, after having been released from a tutor's control, be henceforth permitted to indulge his sexual propensities without such a degrading artificial check as the custom of infibulation exercised.

We have now examined the passages³ in Martial which have a direct bearing upon the subject before us, and up to the present the discussion has been confined to what could be gathered from the extracts themselves, supplemented by the more detailed account of the operation as preserved in Celsus. But before proceeding to the other authorities it may be as well to sum up the meanings of the word *fibula* which we have gathered from the epigrammatist's work. In doing so it will be convenient if the opinions of the later commentators are occasionally consulted, as even if their information was not of the same degree of accuracy as that of modern scholars, their views have a certain value in so far as the actual operation was known to medical circles at least as far down as 1714.⁴

¹ G. Philander, *In decem libros M. V. Pollionis de architectura annotationes* (Romae, 1544), p. 336.

² O. F. Ferrarius, *De re vestiaria libri septem* (Patavii, 1654). See Pars II, lib. 1, cap. XVIII, p. 35.

³ Epig. V, 41, may possibly be brought forward, but it does not present any new feature, although it seems to me likely that by the word *fibula* in this passage that used in infibulation is meant.

⁴ A. Debay, writing about 1875, believed that a few theatrical managers still met "*artistes qui se résignassent à l'infibulation*." (*Hygiène et physiologie du mariage*, Paris, n.d., p. 67).

It is clear from what has already been said that in the case of Epig. VII, 82 the fibula that Menophil was wearing could not have been the ring such as Celsus apparently describes and such as appears on the few statuettes that exist. In spite however of this seemingly inevitable conclusion, Chifflet, a French medical writer of the middle of the seventeenth century, seems to understand it in the sense of a ring, or a joined piece of wire. He writes in speaking of the custom, "*Fibula species, qua Comoedis et Citharoedis extrema virilium pellis illigabatur ad conservandam vocem, quae Venere mutari atque corrumpi solet,*" and further on he remarks that the reason why Celsus approved of the fibula being of a light make, was that it should not break the skin and fall off like Menophil's.¹ How the fibula could have fallen off the foreskin when Menophil was *verpus*, that is to say circumcised, he does not explain, and it is certainly not easy to see how he justifies his conclusions.² Rhodius,³ also in an important contribution to the subject, seems to feel a similar difficulty with regard to this passage. He notes the fact mentioned in Epig. IX, 27, that in dealing with the fibula a smith (*faber*) was necessary, and it strikes him as a remarkable thing that it should have come off in the case of Menophil. The latter, he thinks, could only have lost it through the wearing away of the skin on account of the weight of the ring, or possibly by an *erectio penis* the holes had been violently torn. However, he comes to no definite conclusion, leaving it to "wiser folks," and

¹ J. J. Chifflet, *Acia C. Celsi propriae significatione . . . restitua A. Nunez defensu* Antverpiae, 1633), pp. 8 ff. For the meaning of *acia* cf. also, F. de Figueroa, *Aciam, de qua loquitur Celsus V*, 26, *filum semper, acum numquam significare . . .* (Hispani, 1633), and also Figueroa's letter, "*Al excellmo Señor Conde Duque de Sanlucar la mayor, etc.* (Sevilla, 1633).

² Perhaps from Mercurialis who seems to have come to a somewhat similar conclusion. See H. Mercurialis, *Variarum lectionum libri* (Basileae, 1576), lib. 1, cap. 19, p. 45.

³ J. Rhodius, *De Acia dissertatio ad C. Celsi mentum* (Patavii, 1639), pp. 70 ff.

branching off into another question where we need not follow him at present, but pass on to Casalius who deals shortly with the question of infibulation.¹

He writes: "*Est quoque aliud genus Fibulae, quam Gymnasticam,*" and goes on to say something of the word when it cannot have the ordinary meaning of "ring." He refers to Epig. VII, 35, noting there the mention of a soft leather apron or covering, and believes that this passage may be of assistance in understanding the Epigram dealing with Menophil. Admitting the passage is obscure, Casalius inclines to the opinion that in this epigram the fibula was probably the *subligaculum*, at the same time observing that Britannicus says that the *subligaculum* besides being used to cover the genitals was also occasionally employed to restrain lust,² in this case a thin wire being passed through the prepuce. Ferrarius also favours a similar rendering, and in his *Dissertatio de Balneis*⁴ has an interesting note on this passage where he quotes Epig. VII, 35, saying that the curious line

Judaeum nulla sub cute pondus habet

means "*meus servus non gestat fibulam,*" which Martial calls *pondus Judaeum*, because the circumcised Jews, who were unpopular and were afraid of being molested,

¹ J. B. Casalius, *De insignibus*. In: G. Gronovius, *Thesaurus Graecarum Antiquitatum* (Lugd. Bat., 1750), ix, pp. 893 ff.

² The *subligaculum* or *subligar* was the leathern apron worn by wrestlers, gladiators, actors, etc., during public performances. See C. N. Daremberg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* (Paris, 1873), vol. IV, 1550; P. Faber, *Agonisticon* (Lugd., 1592), lib. 2, cap. 2, p. 116; lib. 2, cap. 4, p. 226, etc.; Cicero, *Off.* I, 35, 129, etc.; Stieda (*op. cit.*, p. 299) takes the same view as Casalius, saying "*fibula kann hier nur die Bedeutung subligar haben,*" as also does J. Rouyer (*Etudes médicales sur l'ancienne Rome*), Paris, 1859, p. 108.

³ See later, p. 33, and cf. G. Graglia, *Tutti gli epigrammi di Marziale* (2 vols., Londra, 1782), vol. I, p. 768: vol. II, p. 790.

⁴ In: G. Poleni, *Utriusque Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanorum Graecarumque nova supplementa congesta*. . . (5 vols, Venetijs, 1737), vol. III, col. 300 ff.

wore a covering over their genitals when they were compelled to go naked in order to hide their members.

Martial, he thinks, does not understand by fibula a ring, but *theca* (case) or *vagina* (sheath),¹ or in some places *aluta* (leathern apron). This latter meaning was, according to Ferrarius, the one to be applied in Epig. VII, 82, the fibula being simply a form of *subligaculum* which was easily removable, unlike the usual fibula which had to be removed by a *faber*. The fibula then in this passage was not of the ordinary variety, but was a sort of case or covering (*integumentum*), for the Jews having no prepuce infibulation by means of a ring was impossible.

We cannot enter here into a detailed examination of the meaning to be attached to *Judaeum pondus*, but the fact that the Jews found it necessary to conceal the visible symbol of their faith must be very briefly touched upon in this place. Josephus has some remarks on this subject which may be of interest. He is writing of Menelaus and the sons of Tobias, who asked the permission of Antiochus to allow them to discontinue their customary Jewish way of living, so they could be like ordinary Greeks. Then Josephus says that when Antiochus had given them permission "they concealed (ἐπεκάλυψαν) the circumcision of their privy members, so that even when naked they might appear to be Greeks."² Schurig³ suggests that this request was made

¹ Pauw (*op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 133) has a remarkable note on this question. He says that the *Judaeum pondus* was an instrument expressly invented to force the skin of a circumcised member over the glans. He calls it "that enormous copper case (*étui*) in which all the Jews of Rome used to carry their genitals, its weight continually stretching the skin. This custom Pauw avers, had been used long before the first century by some Asiatics who had embraced the Mosaic Law and then apostasized. Another writer follows Pauw but thus improves his description. "The penis was enclosed within a tube which was fastened to a belt." (*Ēros, oder Wörterbuch über die Physiologie* . . . Neue Aufl., 2 vols, Stuttgart, 1849, I, p. 621). I attach but small weight to either of these accounts. See also Graglia, (*op. cit.*), I, p. 768.

² F. Josephus, *Opera* (2 vols., Parisiis, 1845-7), I, p. 457. The passage occurs in *Antiq. Jud.*, lib. 12, cap 5 (6).

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 540.

in order that they might not seem disgraceful, but the passage simply implies that if seen naked their Jewish origin would be discovered.

It is, of course, true that Celsus in Lib. VII, cap. 25, of his *De Medicina* has a passage in which he deals with the method to be adopted "*ad tegendam glandem colis, si nuda est*," and in this place he declares that it is sometimes done "*decoris causa*," a reason which Fallopius also adopts, where he says that amongst those who show themselves in the arena an absent prepuce was a mark of great disgrace.¹ However that may be, and we shall return to it in discussing a certain Greek custom, it is fairly clear that in the Epigram we are considering, the reason of the concealment was purely to avoid detection.² We know that the operation for covering a circumcised penis was well known in antiquity and was styled *Recutitio*,³ and those who wish to know more of this subject may consult the works of Ammannus,⁴ Wedelius,⁵ Worm,⁶ Groddeck,⁷ etc.

¹ G. Fallopius, *Opera* (3 vols., Venetiis, 1606), tom. 3, tract. 2, cap. 10. Cf. Paulus Aegineta, *Chirurgie*, ed. R. Briau (Paris, 1855), cap. 53, p. 236 (δια τὴν ἀπρέπειαν), where he speaks of the deformity resulting from a shortened prepuce, and G. Franckius, *Satyrae Medicae*, XX (Lipsiae, 1722), 8 ff., Stoll thinks that infibulation with a ring was in order to hide the glans, as apparently also does Ellis, but there is no evidence for this. See O. Stoll, *Das Geschlechtsleben in der Völkerpsychologie* (Leipzig, 1908), p. 496, and H. Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (3rd ed., Philadelphia, 1913), i, p. 22.

² Forberg favours this view. See F. C. Forberg, *Manuel d'érotologie classique (De figuris Veneris)*, (2 vols., Paris, 1882), ii, pp. 13 ff.

³ Cf. M. Schurig (*op. cit.*), p. 537.

⁴ P. Ammannus, *Medicina critica* (Stadae, 1677), pp. 266 ff.

⁵ G. Wolfgang Wedelius, *Centuria exercitationum medico-philologicarum* . . . (Jenae, 1686-1701), Dec. v, Exercit. i, p. 2.

⁶ C. Worm, *De corruptis antiquitatum Hebraearum* (Hafniae, 1693-1694), lib. 2, cap. 14, pp. 134 ff.

⁷ G. Groddeck, *De Judaexis praeputium attrahentibus ad 1 Cor. vii, 18*. In: T. Hase and C. Iken, *Thesaurus novus theophil.* (Lugd. Bat, etc., 1732), ii, pp. 793 ff. A novel view of the

Before leaving the matter entirely, however, it may be as well to give the opinion of one more writer, Daniel Le Clerc, who was born in the middle half of the seventeenth century and died at Geneva in 1728. In his *Histoire de la Médecine* (Amsterdam, 1702) he discusses *recutitio* and quotes Martial's lines in Epig. VII, 82. In speaking of Menophil's fibula he says that it merely consisted of "*le linge dont on se couvroit*" (p. 234), adding some remarks on the passage from Josephus which we have just quoted. It is difficult to trace the precise source from which Le Clerc derived his information, although possibly it may have been Rhodius,¹ who says that sometimes the fibula was not bare, but covered with soft leather, and as such might be called *aluta* or *theca*.² This interpretation has doubtless occurred to these authors on their attempting to understand the meaning of Epig. VII, 35, and the relation of the *Judaeum pondus* to the fibula.

As to the explanation of Epig. VII, 82, it seems that opinion is much divided, but I shall attempt a solution here which seems more reasonable than many of those hitherto proposed. We know from Epig. XI, 75, that occasionally the fibula was of such a nature that it could be reasonably called *theca*, and also that on the occasion that Menophil was wearing it that it *penem vestit*. It is also quite evident that before it fell off people thought he was wearing it for the sake of his voice, a custom which was at that time too general to arouse especial ridicule. But when it fell off and the wretched man was seen to be

reason for *recutitio* was propounded by Dionis, who thought it was to protect the glans from rubbing against the shirt. (P. Dionis. *Cours d'opérations de chirurgie* (2 éd., Paris, 1714, p. 213). For an actual modern instance of this accident, see W. Whitehead, *Partial amputation of the glans penis, by the accumulated detritus of underclothing* (*Brit. Med. Journal*, 1872, ii, p. 62).

¹ Rhodius (*op. cit.*), p. 66.

² Bonneau gives it as his opinion that the *theca* was made of wood, but adduces no evidence in support of this conclusion. See A. Bonneau, *Les cadenas et ceintures de chasteté* (Paris, 1893), p. XIV.

circumcised he at once became a fit object for satirical laughter. What is there more natural than that Menophil, wishing to hide his Jewish origin and also to appear before the public, should have devised the simple scheme of wearing a piece of apparatus which to all appearances resembled the singer's fibula, and yet was in reality not fastened in any way like the genuine article, but merely loosely attached and liable to fall off by some untoward accident? That is to say that the fibula Menophil was wearing was only so in appearance, the circumcised member being incapable of being infibulated in the usual way. The fibula fell, and revealed to a mocking audience the existence not only of a Jew but of a fraudulent Jew. What better occasion for satire than this?

Having now examined the passages in Martial which have a direct bearing upon the subject before us, it is necessary to pass on to another classical authority, namely, Juvenal, in whose satires will be found a few illuminating references to the custom of infibulation. The first extract to which we shall turn our attention occurs in Satire VI and runs as follows:—

Solvitur his magno comoedi fibula (VI, 73).¹

On referring to the preceding lines it is clear that Juvenal is speaking of certain lewd women, and that it is to these that he refers, so that the passage reads:—"The fibula of a comic actor is loosened by the women only at a great price," or it is possible that the meaning of "*magno*" may be "with great trouble," an interpretation which I do not think to be very probable. On this passage we fortunately possess a valuable note by a scholiast which reads as follows: "*Ut cum concubant comoedis, nam omnes pueri vocales fibulas in naturis habent ne coeant.*" Here it is again stated what we have already found hinted at by Martial in Epig. XIV, 215,

Dic mihi simpliciter, comoedis et citharoedis
Fibula quid praestas? Carius ut futuant,

¹ D. J. Juvenalis, *Satirarum, libri quinque* (Lipsiae, 1888). The text of this edition has been followed except when otherwise stated.

namely that the favours of actors and cithara-players were sought after by a certain class of Roman women, those same embraces being gained with difficulty and possibly with the expenditure of a good deal of money. It is true that in the epigram above quoted the actual reason given for the wearing of the fibula is "*carius ut futuant*" but this is obviously an exaggeration, the real reason being understood to be as the old scholiast puts it, "*ne coeant*." On the word fibula in Sat. VI, 73, Grangaeus¹ has an interesting note which it may be convenient to quote here in full. It runs as follows :—

Sunt qui fibulam idem esse subligaculo existimant ; alii fibulam auream, vel argenteam, aut ferream esse, quae verpo inserebatur comoedorum, et aliorum, quibus vox in usu ; ne coirent scilicet, quia coitus longe voci adversus. Sic nunc temporis Turcae religiosi quidam, ut ajunt, continentiae amantes mutonem gerunt infibulatum."

It will be noticed on reading the above extract that there seem to be two opinions as to the meaning of the word fibula. Some saw in it merely the *subligaculum* or leather loin-cloth or apron worn by wrestlers and others to cover the genitals, while others believed it to be a gold, silver or iron clasp inserted through a part of the penis in order to prevent coitus, because it was believed that sexual indulgence was harmful to the voice, a point of view which has the approval of Britannicus, a commentator who writes as follows :—

"Sed quum ii fibulati vocem suam vendant in recitatione fabularum, coguntur accepto precio solvere fibulas suas, ut coeant cum eis. Nam cantores scenici, ut gratiorem conservarent vocem, infibulabantur. Sed quum duplex sit fibulae genus : Indumentum quo non solum utebantur ad inguina tegenda, sed ut etiam a coitu comprimerentur, unde est illud Mart.

¹ Juvenalis, *Satyrae* (Lugd. Bat., 1695), p. 131.

Menophili penem tam grandis fibula vestit, etc., et tenuissimum filum, sive aeneum, sive argenteum, quod praeputio ab utroque latere super glandem perforato addebatur, id autem fiebat tum vocis conservandae, tum valetudinis gratia, quod docet Corn. Celsus lib. VIII. Aenea fibula pars auriculae latissima circumscribitur, ita ut manente sanguine tanquam o literae ductus appareat.

Placet magis intelligamus de hoc genere fibulae, quam de indumento, hoc enim modo vox magis servari potest.¹

It appears then that this commentator held the view that at least two kinds of fibulae were in use, one an apron or cloth which he calls indumentum, and the other a very thin wire made of bronze or silver which was passed through the prepuce as in the description Celsus has left. Whether this wire was bent round in the form of a ring Britannicus does not say, but from evidence to be adduced later this in all probability was usually the case.

The next passage in Juvenal to be noticed occurs again in Satire VI, this time at lines 379-- which read

Si gaudet cantu, nullius fibula durat
Vocem vendentis praetoribus;

upon which the scholiast makes the following important observation,

"Fibulam dicunt circellos, quos tragoedi sive comoedi in penem habent ut coitum non faciant ne vocem perdant."

Here we have a definite pronouncement as to the shape² of the fibula as worn by certain classes for preserving the voice. The word *circellus* can be well translated by "a little ring," and thus it becomes intelligible how once inserted and the ends joined such an apparatus would be difficult to remove, and in some cases might

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 510.

² So also Britannicus says "*annulus tenuissimus argenteus sive aureus sive aeneus*." (*Op. cit.*, p. 528.)

require, as Martial says, a *faber* to unfasten it. The second piece of information which can be gleaned from the scholiast's note is that tragic actors wore fibulae as well as the comedians and cithara-players we have found mentioned elsewhere, thus giving us further hints as to the status of the *adolescentuli* mentioned by Celsus.

As to the precise meaning of Juvenal's lines, it must be confessed that grave differences of opinion exist, although it seems to me probable that the personal prejudices of the commentators are in some degree responsible, coupled possibly with a certain ignorance of matters concerning the *vita sexualis*. Juvenal is satirizing a class of women in Rome and their various expedients in sexual matters. Thus a few lines before he has spoken of those women who had made eunuchs of their slaves and consequently rejoiced in the impossibility of necessity for abortion, and here he writes of others who are inclined to music and singers, who, it will be remembered, were often infibulated. On the one hand the passage may mean that a musician's fibula never lasted very long, owing presumably to the obvious restrictions it imposed, or on the other it may merely imply that the favours of such infibulated persons were so sought after that the restraining influence on their passions never remained very long a serious difficulty. We have seen that such a state of things has been hinted at by Martial in Epig. XIV, 215, and again by Juvenal himself in the first extract above quoted, and there is, in my opinion, no reason to suppose that anything else was intended. Britannicus, however, inclines to the first interpretation; indeed he goes so far as to declare that the second is false, because such persons are not loved by women. His exact words are these:

"Nullus adolescens infibulatus potest tam diutinum canende laborem perferre,"

and then goes on to explain that

"alii interpretantur, quod mulieres precio corrumpant citharoedos et cantores ad coitum, ut sic

fibulam solvere cogantur, quod falsum est, nam non amat eos mulier, ut coeant, sed ut voluptatem capiat ex cantu."¹

Although it has been considered curious that infibulated persons should offer any attractions to lascivious women it seems fairly clear that, from the very nature of the case, a man, having had the impediment removed, would be in a condition to satisfy the most imperious demands made upon him, an enforced period of probably unwilling abstinence having sharpened his sexual appetite which would be still further heightened by the knowledge that his services were so eagerly desired. Thus Calderinus, whom we have already quoted when dealing with Martial, distinctly inclines to the view that the Roman women especially lusted after infibulated singers, whilst later writers have often taken this view, for example Rambach, who writes,

"Romanae fibulatos illos appetebant, tanquam firmiores et jejunosiores, ut solent veneris parci; ideoque magno pretio comparabant,"²

whilst "Sincerus" repeats his remarks, writing,

"Romanae mulieres infibulabant servos, quos ad coitum habebant, et fibulatos illos appetebant, tanquam firmiores, quia Veneris parciore, ideoque magno pretio comparabant."³

Similarly Saint-Olive⁴ agrees that in antiquity women desired the infibulated, whilst Lewis⁵ in his useful edition of Juvenal, in a note to Sat. VI, 379, writes that "no fibulae are of any avail against the ladies who are given

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 523. Juvenalis, [*Satirae*], Vincentiae, 1480, sigs. e1 and f.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 128.

³ I. Sincerus, pseud., *Medulla facetiarum* (Stuttgartiae, 1863), p. 86.

⁴ P. Saint-Olive, *Imitation de la VI^e satire de Juvenal: les femmes* (Lyon, 1871), p. 46.

⁵ Juvenal. *Satirae*. Ed. J. D. Lewis. 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London, 1892), II, p. 186.

to musicians," a point of view supported by Bonneau,¹ who speaks of

"l'ardeur passionnée dont les dames romaines poursuivaient ces infibulés, que leur continence forcée devait rendre, pensaient-elles, des athlètes infatigables en amour, et des grosses sommes que ceux-ci ou leurs maîtres leur extorquaient avant de laisser briser la fibule. Pour la même raison, les femmes faisaient aussi infibuler les esclaves favoris dont elles étaient jalouses."

Dupouy² also expresses the same opinion, when he says that the women, according to Juvenal,

"brisaient les anneaux, principalement ceux des ténors et des acrobates."

With regard to the opinion expressed by Dupouy that acrobats wore infibulatory rings, I am not aware that any evidence exists to support this conclusion, and I strongly suspect that the author, owing in all probability to faulty nomenclature, has confounded two different kinds of infibulation, which have been commonly called by the same names.³

We have now seen from an examination of the passages in Juvenal that he supports, up to a certain point, the previous conclusions that we had arrived at from a discussion of the verse of Martial, and that his idea of the fibula, as interpreted by the old scholiasts, was that it consisted of a small ring (circellus) which tragic and comic actors wore on their members lest they might harm their voices by an exercise of the sexual function.

That these same persons were desired by certain classes of amorous women seems clear from Sat. VI,

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. xv.

² E. Dupouy, *Médecine et mœurs de l'ancienne Rome* (Paris, 1892), p. 277.

³ Mayne in the New Sydenham Society's *Lexicon of Medicine* (5 vols., Lond., 1881-99) says that gladiators wore rings, but the mistake, if mistake it be, arose probably from the same reason as Dupouy's.

73, 379, and that this is not really surprising has already been seen from a consideration of the effect that infibulation might be thought to have upon the generative faculty. Before we pass on to glance at the opinions of later writers, it will be as well to touch briefly upon a few more classical or post-classical passages, which have some connection with the present subject. Thus Pliny¹ in his *Natural History*, in speaking of the uses of metal writes:

“Jam vero paedagogia ad transitum virilitatis custodiantur argento,”

and doubtless this restraint was the fibula, whose material, be it noted, is stated to have been of silver. Probably the material from which it was constructed varied, the better quality articles being of silver, and the commoner ones of iron or bronze. In this sense of restraint the word fibula had already begun to be used even in early times. Thus in the *Priapea* (LXXVII, 21) we read

“Neve imponite fibulam priapo”

used obviously as a sort of proverbial saying, and Pierrugues,² followed as usual by Rambach, is right when he says that

“Fibulam imponere” is a “formula proverbialis pro veneris ardores coercere.”

It is with this meaning that Tertullian³ employs the term when he writes

“Caeterum subvertit totam substantiam sacramenti causatio ejus modi; ut etiam voluntariis delictis fibulam laxet,”

in which passage fibula evidently implies an obstacle or hindrance; while again in *De Pudic*, 16, we find the following passage,

¹ *Naturalis Historia*, XXXIII, 12 (54) Ed. L. Janus, 6 vols., Leipzig, 1870-1898, v, p. 157.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 218. Cf. Rambach (*op. cit.*), p. 129, and Rhodius (*op. cit.*), p. 57.

³ Tertullian. *Opera*. (Ed. Migne.) *De Cor Mil.*, 11, ii, 93.

"Hujus boni fibulam quis illum nesciat invitum relaxasse, ut fornicationi obviam esset"¹

where the word has perhaps the sense of bond, just as in *De Monog.* 3 we can translate it by some such word as rein or curb.² A similar interpretation is to be sought in Lactantius,³ where it reads,

"Quid ergo est, inquit, quare apud poetas salacissimus Jupiter desierit liberos tollere? Utrum sexagenarius factus est, et ille lex Papia fibulam imposuit,"

a passage in which fibula again has the sense of restraint or check.

As we see from Quintilian, the term was even occasionally used as a nickname, although in this place it can hardly be maintained that it refers to the fibula of Celsus, but merely has reference to the curve of the ordinary buckle or safety-pin.⁴

We have now completed our survey of the passages dating from antiquity which have any bearing upon our present subject.⁵ As would have been expected they are drawn principally from those writers whose moral tone is not considered suitable for modern ears, and whose works when edited at the present day in popular editions usually omit any passages bearing upon the sexual life of the peoples with whom they deal. It is largely on account of the baneful influence of ecclesiastical tradition, which is always recognizable even in medical circles,⁶ that our knowledge of the sexual life of the

¹ *Op. cit.*, ii, 1011.

² *Carni fibulam imponere.*" (*Op. cit.*, ii, 933.)

³ *Div. Inst.* I, 16. Ed. Migne, I, 203.

⁴ *Sed ea non ab hominibus modo petitur verum etiam ab animalibus ut nobis pueris Junius Bassus, homo in primis dicax, "asinus albus" vocabatur et Sarmentus seu P. Blessius Julium, hominem nigrum et macrum et pandum, "fibulam ferream" dixit.* (*Inst.* vi, 3, 58. (*Inst. Orat.*, 2 vols., Lipsiae, 1868, i, p. 320.)

⁵ That is of course as far as I have been able to trace them.

⁶ Cf. H. Magnus, *Superstition in Medicine*. Tr. by J. L. Salinger (New York, London, 1905), p. v.

ancients is so meagre. Yet the far-reaching importance of the *vita sexualis* and the influence of the sexes on one another can hardly be over-estimated. As Sir J. G. Frazer rightly says in his "*Spirits of the Corn and the Wild*" (Lond., 1912, I, p. viii), "the study of the various forms, some gross and palpable, some subtle and elusive, in which the sexual instinct has moulded the religious consciousness of our race, is one of the most interesting, as it is one of the most difficult and delicate tasks, which await the future historians of religion."

Of the question of infibulation there is scarcely a trace in English medical, classical or historical works, and the greater part of the references before 1800 appear in treatises published abroad. Before however turning to these passages, it may be convenient here to summarize very briefly the conclusions to which we have been led thus far in the course of our researches. Perhaps the most useful course will be firstly to classify the various interpretations that the word *fibula* can safely bear in the passages already discussed, and then to pass on to the materials in which it was made, the purposes to which it was put, and finally to the status of those who underwent the operation of infibulation. Firstly then as to the meaning of the word *fibula*.

I. The ordinary brooch, clasp or buckle used in antiquity for fastening garments together. A similar clasp or clamp was often employed by surgeons for bringing the open edges of wounds into close contact.¹

II. A little ring (*circellus*) mentioned by the scholiasts on Juvenal, Sat. VI, 379. This interpretation well accords with the description of infibulation as recorded by Celsus. We have seen that Britannicus in a note on this satire calls the *fibula* "*annulus*."

III. A case or sheath (*theca*). Cf. Martial, Epig. XI, 75. It was a close imitation of this that Menophil was in all probability wearing in Epig. VII, 82. In these

¹ Cf. J. S. Milne, *Surgical instruments in Greek and Roman times* (Oxford, 1907), p. 162, and G. B. Zapata, *Maravigliosi secreti di medicina e chirurgia* (Roma, 1587), pp. 213 ff.

cases the fibula was large and could be said to conceal a great portion of the privy member. We know in Menophil's case that it "*penem vestit*" and also in the case of Caelia's slave (Epig. XI, 75) it was large enough to hide that part from prying eyes. In this connection it should be noted that some commentators are of the opinion that the *subligaculum* is meant, but up to the present we have not met with sufficient justification for this opinion.

IV. Used in a proverbial sense of hindrance, curb or restraint, as in *Priapea* LXXVII, 21; Tertullian, *De Cor. Mil.*, 11, etc.

Secondly as to the material of the fibula:—

That it was of metal seems clear from Epig. IX, 27, as a *faber* is said to have removed it; and that this metal was sometimes silver¹ is seen from Pliny's passage in his Natural History. From Epig. XI, 75 it seems probable that the larger kinds of fibulae were constructed of bronze, and we may note in this connection that Britannicus described the fibula as "a very slender silver, gold or bronze ring."

Thirdly, as to the purposes of the operation. These can be conveniently divided into four main groups:—

I. For preserving the voice. This is vouched for by Celsus, Martial (Epigs. VII, 82; XI, 75), Juvenal and the scholiasts.

II. For the purposes of preventing the wearer from having sexual intercourse. This aim is frequently connected with the fact that such carnal connection was considered harmful to the voice.

III. For the purposes of concealment. Martial, Epigs. VII, 82; XI, 75.

IV. For the purpose of being able to sell their favours at a high price. Martial, Epig. XIV, 215 and Juvenal, Sat. VI, 73.

¹ Gurlt gives silver as the only metal, but it is probable that his attention was called solely to Pliny's remarks. See E. Gurlt, *Geschichte der Chirurgie* (3 vols., Berlin, 1898), i, p. 99.

Of these four reasons the most common are I and II which are usually coupled together. With regard to number III our information is too scanty to say how far the fibula was employed for this purpose, and in the case of IV the reason alleged by Martial was probably not a reason for infibulation but rather one of its results.

Lastly as to the condition, profession and status of those who were infibulated. These can also be divided into four groups:—

I. Youths, the *adolescentuli* of Celsus; and boys, the *paedagogia* of Pliny.

II. Performers in the palaestra. Mart. Epig. VII, 82.

III. Slaves. Mart. Epig. VII, 85.

IV. Comic and tragic actors, singers and cithara-players.

In the above classification there is, of course, an unavoidable overlapping. Thus the public performers, slaves and actors can be called youths, but it is necessary to distinguish sharply between those youths who were infibulated for their voices and those who suffered the operation purely for the purposes of health. How infibulation could be said to affect either the quality of a singer's voice or the preservation of health we shall see later; now it will be our task to examine the opinions of later commentators, scholars and medical writers.

We may well begin with Oribasius the Divine, as a Greek epigram styles him, a physician who lived about A.D. 350 and was at one time quaestor of Constantinople. He was chief physician to the Emperor Julian and was entrusted with the composition of a work which was intended to include all the medical knowledge of the ancients. Part of it was written in France and fortunately has been preserved. He accompanied Julian on his expedition against the Persians, but on the death of that prince fell into disgrace and was despoiled of his possessions. Under Valentinian he was banished, but his high character gained for him such respect among those who lived in his place of exile that he was recalled and

died in 363. In his remarks on various affections of the genital organs he discusses infibulation and writes thus:—

περὶ κρικόσεως.

ὁ κρικούμενος τῷ ἐνεργοῦντι ἀντίως ὠρίσθαι, καὶ τότε τοῖς δακτύλοις τὸ τῆς ἀκροποσθίας δέρμα καθέλκεται, καὶ τὸ καθελκόμενον ἔαται ἀναχωρῆσαι. τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται ἢ δις ἢ τρίς, ἵνα ὅσον ἐστὶ [τὸ] φυσικὸν τῆς ἀκροποσθίας χάλασμα φανῇ. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὑπὸ ἄκραν τὴν βάλανον κατ' αὐτὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἀκροποσθίας ἢ κρίκωσις γίνεται. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τῇ τεχνηκῇ γυμνασίᾳ χρώμενος αὐτόθεν εἴωθα ἐνεργεῖν. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ὠρότερον ἐσημειώσαντο ἐκατέρωθεν τὴν τῆς ἀκροποσθίας ἀρχὴν μέλανι γραφικῶ, ἵνα κατὰ τὰ στίγματα γένηται καὶ ἡ κρίκωσις. Πρὸς δὲ τὴν κρίκωσιν ῥάμμα δεῖ λαθεῖν θοινικοῦν. τοῦτο γὰρ τετρήρηται τὸ ῥάμμα συνερχοῦν τῷ τῶν τρημάτων ἀνευρυσμῶ. Εἰρομένον δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰς βελόνην εὐρωστον, κατὰ τὸν εἰρημένον τόπον κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἀκροποσθίας ἀρχὴν διακεντείσθω τὸ δέρμα ἐκ τῶν ὠλαγίων εἰς τὰ ὠλάγια, καὶ ἢ μὲν βελόνη ἐξελκείσθω, τὸ δὲ ῥάμμα κεχαλασμένον ἀμματιζέσθω, ἵνα φανῇ ὡς κρίκος. Ταῖς δὲ ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ὠαράγεται τὸ ῥάμμα, ἢ αὐτόθεν ἵνα εὐρυνηθῇ τὰ τρημάτα, ἢ αἰὶ μετὰ ἐλαίου κεχρισμένον. Ἀλλὰ δεῖ ὠάλιν μετὰ τὸν τῶν τρημάτων ἀνευρυσμὸν ἀντικαθιέναι κασσιτέρεινον ἐλασμάτιον ὡρὸς τὴν τῶν τρημάτων κατούλῳσιν. Ἐστὼ δὲ τὸ ῥάμμα διπλοῦν ἐστραμμένον, οὗ τὰ ἄμματα λυέσθω, καὶ τότε τοῦ ἐλασμάτιου τὸ ὠέρας κατὰ ἐλάτησιν λελεπτοποιημένον εἰς τὴν τοῦ ῥάμματος . . .

a passage which is thus translated by Bussemaker and Daremberg in their edition.¹

¹ Oribase, *Œuvres*. Ed. U. C. Bussemaker et C. Daremberg (6 vols, Paris, 1851), iv, p. 475.

DE L'INFIBULATION.

Celui qui doit être infibulé se place vis-à-vis de l'opérateur; ensuite on abaisse, avec les doigts, la peau du sommet du prépuce, et on laisse remonter la partie abaissée; on répète la même chose deux ou trois fois, pour constater quelle est la mesure de la partie naturellement relâchée du sommet du prépuce. Après cela, on pratique l'infibulation sous l'extrémité du gland, au commencement du sommet du prépuce. Quant à moi, confiant dans l'habitude que j'ai de cette opération, je la pratique ordinairement de suite; mais les autres chirurgiens font d'abord des deux côtés des signes avec de l'encre à écrire, pour indiquer le commencement du sommet du prépuce, afin que l'infibulation ait lieu au niveau de ces marques. Pour l'infibulation, il faut prendre un fil fait avec des fibres de palmier; car on a observé que cette espèce de fil aidait à élargir les trous. Après avoir passé ce fil dans le chas d'une aiguille forte, on traverse la peau de part en part à l'endroit susnommé, au commencement du sommet du prépuce; puis on retire l'aiguille et on noue la partie pendante du fil, afin qu'il se forme une espèce d'anneau. Les jours suivants, on promène le fil à travers les trous pour les élargir; soit tel qu'il est, soit après l'avoir enduit de sel et d'huile. Les trous une fois élargis, il faut de nouveau remplacer le fil par une petite plaque en étain (*κασσιτέρων ἐλασμάτιον*), afin de les cicatriser. Le fil doit être doublé et entortillé; puis on défait les noeuds, et alors on introduit le bout de la plaque aminci au marteau dans du fil

Unfortunately the MS. is here defective,¹ but enough is preserved to give a fairly clear account of the opera-

¹ The last few words of the translation are obviously guess-work, and it would be unprofitable to conjecture as to the description which Oribasius actually left.

tion of infibulation as practised in the days of Oribasius. Before the insertion of the fibula or "tin-plate" and in order to enlarge the holes it will be remarked that as in Celsus's description the thread is moved backwards and forwards once the holes are made. Oribasius advises the thread to be made of some distinct variety of palm fibre as this material is said to widen the holes. As to the fibula itself, no definite account of it is preserved. The *κασσιτέρινον ἐλασμάτιον* simply implies a thin lamina of tin and may very possibly indicate a very thin plate of metal about a square inch in size and furnished with a safety pin device to secure it to the prepuce.

If the MS. had not been defective it is probable that we should have been left a description of the apparatus, and also perhaps Oribasius would have said something about the purpose of the operation, and the condition and age of those who suffered it. It will be noted that Oribasius mentions other surgeons who performed the operation in various ways, so that it seems likely that infibulation was commonly practised in the fourth century, and if more records had been preserved of ancient medical writers we might have had a great deal more information than we now possess. For example Antylus is said by Oribasius to have written at length on subjects connected with athletics, in the course of which he might very well have given a detailed account of infibulation. As it is we have to rely upon much later authors, and the next one to whom we shall now direct our attention is Gabriello Fallopio, who was born at the end of the fifteenth or at the beginning of the sixteenth century. He was a celebrated anatomist and so passionately addicted to study that he travelled in many lands in an attempt to profit by the investigations of professors abroad. About 1548 he was teaching and lecturing in Pisa, thence proceeding to Padua. It was at the latter place that he died, his fame having risen to such a height that he was often styled the *Æsculapius* of his age. In discussing infibulation he mentions the fibula as used in antiquity for musicians and others,

giving as a reason that *Venus corrumpit vocem* but going on to say that for this purpose the custom was no longer in use, and remarking in a humorous way that such an operation was not needed for restraining lust in his day, the *Morbus Gallicus* being quite a sufficient kind of infibulation for the period.¹

During the course of our researches it has been remarked how the great majority of those who write on infibulation constantly speak of the operation as one which was performed for the sake of the voice, and we have seen how musicians and singers are amongst those who suffered infibulation. The question now naturally arises: what influence can infibulation be said to have on the power or quality of the voice; and from this springs another question, namely what actual effect had infibulation upon one who had allowed the operation to be performed? It will be more convenient if we take the second question first, and if that can be satisfactorily answered then we shall be in a better position to appreciate the true significance of the effect that infibulation may be said to have upon the voice.

The effect of infibulation as we know it in Roman times was, as Stieda² points out, to cause virtually an artificial phimosis of the genital organ. The ring, once fastened to the prepuce, made it obviously impossible for the foreskin to slip back over the glans, thus making an *erectio penis*, if not impossible, at any rate sufficiently painful for the sufferer to avoid. Thus sexual intercourse was rendered impossible and continence practically assured in those who wore the rings, and therefore we can understand, that, although the wearing of a fibula could not in itself have any influence on the voice, if one of the results of infibulation was chastity, and continence was thought to be of practical benefit to the vocal organs, then infibulation could be justly said to be of advantage to those who used their voices for

¹ G. Fallopius. *Opera* (3 vols., Venetiis, 1606), tom. ii, tract. 2, cap. 7, p. 277.

² Stieda, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

singing or for other purposes. We have seen how Fallopius says that Venus corrupts the voice, and I shall now proceed to show that this view was held in antiquity and continued right down to almost modern times. The first writer of any importance to draw attention to this subject was Aristotle who in his work on animals writes as follows :

Γίνεται δὲ τοῦτο μᾶλλον τοῖς πειρωμένοις ἀφροδισιάζειν. τοῖς γὰρ περὶ ταῦτα προθυμouμένοις καὶ μεταβάλλουσιν αἱ φωναὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν φωνήν, ἀπεχομένοις δὲ τοῦναντίον. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ συναποβιάζωνται ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις ὅπερ ποιοῦσιν ἔνιοι τῶν περὶ τὰς χορείας σπουδαζόντων, καὶ μέχρι πόρρω διαμένει καὶ τὸ πάμπαν μικρὰν λαμβάνει μεταβολήν.¹

He has been speaking of man's growth and the changes the voice undergoes at puberty, remarking on the strange alteration in tone which takes place in men, and then he goes on to say that "this breaking of the voice is more obvious in those who are testing their sexual capabilities; for in those who are wont to indulge their lust the voice changes to that of a man, which is not so in those that restrain themselves." For if a young man really does endeavour to delay the breaking of his voice, as some musicians do, then the voice may remain unbroken for a considerable period, and may even remain with but some slight difference in tone."

This was the opinion of Aristotle, and no doubt later writers were content to follow his wisdom rather than make any actual experiments for themselves. Whether it is possible to keep the voice from breaking by submitting to a strict continence is a question which need not detain us now, it being sufficient here to state that such was a widely held opinion, and that the custom of infibulation was, to a certain extent, based on that belief. Thus Riolanus,² who was the son of one of

¹ Aristotles. *Opera*, Ed. I. Bekker (11 vols., Oxonii, 1837). *Hist. anim.*, vii, 1; vol. iv, p. 237.

² J. Riolanus, *Anthropographia* (Parisiis, 1626), p. 303.

the most learned doctors of the time, and who was born just after the middle of the sixteenth century, says that on account of the change in voice "*veteres Phonascorum penem infibulabant vinculis et subligaculis coercebant, ne lasciveret Priapus.*" In this passage it is noteworthy that Riolanus employs the words *vinculis* and *subligaculis* instead of the more common term *fibula*, but it may probably be accounted for by the fact that some commentators have thought that the *subligaculum* itself could be employed for purposes of infibulation. Pignorius,¹ on the other hand, who was born about 1571, favours the view that the *fibula* was usually in the form of a ring. In discussing the infibulation of singers he says that the needles in the ordinary clothes-clasp would be too thick for such a purpose, and that the *fibulæ* were probably rings, like those which some of that class of Moslem devotees called *Calends* are accustomed to wear. These *Calends* or *Calenders*, as they are more usually called, were ascetic dervishes, whose customs were noted by a writer called Menavino in his book on the customs and life of the Turks.

A Genoese by birth, he was captured together with his father by sea-robbers, and was forced to spend some time in Turkey where he studied the lives of the inhabitants. Speaking of these *Calenders* he says:—

"Sotto il membro virile forano la pelle, et ui mettono uno anello di ferro, ò d'argento, accioche non possano usare la lussuria in alcun modo, auenga che n'hauesson et disidero et commodita."²

Pignorius, in the course of his remarks, says that the musicians wore also a *theca* which he says "*nudorum*

¹ L. Pignorius, *De servis* (Amstelodami, 1674), pp. 150 ff.

² G. A. Menavino, *I costumi, et la vita de Turchi* (Fiorenza, 1551), lib. 2, cap. 11, p. 56. Certain of the Caloyers or monks of Mt. Athos used to wear similar rings. Pauw says their weight was sometimes enormous. See Pauw, *op. cit.*, II, p. 144; B. Stern, *Zwischen Kaspi und Pontus* (Breslau, 1897), p. 145, and for Basilian monachism in general see P. Helyot, *Histoire des ordres monastiques* . . . (8 vols., Paris, 1714-19); O. Zöckler, *Askese und Mönchtum* (2^e Aufl., Frankfurt a. M., 1897), etc.

virilia includeret" and which sometimes resembled an *aluta*. In an illustration which Pignorius gives of various kinds of fibulæ, he shows one of a curious pattern which might be termed a *theca*. Indeed Holyday in his edition of Juvenal believes that this fibula is one used for infibulation. In discussing Sat. VI, 379, he says: "*Fibula* signifies not strictly a button, but also a buckle, or clasp, or suchlike stay. In this place, the Poet expresses by it the instrument of servilitie applied to those that were imploy'd to sing upon the stage; the *Praetor*, who set forth Playes for the delight of the People, buying youths for that purpose. And that such might not by lust spoile their voice, their overseers clos'd their shame with a case of metal, having a sharp pike of the same matter passing by the side of it, and sometimes us'd one of another form; or by a nearer crueltie, they thrust a brazen or silver wier through that part, which the Jew did loose in circumcision."

Whether the form of fibula as portrayed by Pignorius was a pattern actually employed, it seems impossible to say, but from the position of the spike or pin it appears to be a little doubtful. However that may be, all the authors were agreed that by wearing the fibula continence was kept, and the voice correspondingly improved. Thus Castro (who must not be confounded with the famous Pisa physician of the same name) says something of infibulation in his *Medicus Politicus*. He speaks of the effect that chastity may be said to have upon the voice, and quotes Aristotle in support of the theory that those "*qui vocem conservare volunt, a Venere abstinent*,"² which again has the support of Mercurialis³

¹ D. J. Juvenalis . . . translated and illustrated . . . by B. Holyday (Oxford, 1673), p. 110. The same fibula taken from Pignorius is reproduced and commented upon by Davenport in his *Aphrodisiacs and Anti-aphrodisiacs* (Lond., 1869), pl. VII.

² R. à Castro, *Medicus Politicus* (Hamburgi, 1662), lib. 4, cap. 12 p. 261. The other Castro, who is often confused with this one, was called in his time the Phoenix of Medicine.

³ H. Mercurialis, *De arte gymnastica libri sex*. In: G. Poleni, *Utriusque Thesauri*, . . . Suppl. III, Venetiis, 1737, lib. 3, cap. 7, p. 608.

when treating of the same subject in 1569, and of Casserius¹ who discusses Aristotle's remarks in his book on the voice and hearing.

We have seen enough evidence above for the belief of the effect of continence upon the voice, and it would merely be wearisome to add to the authorities already quoted any more opinions upon this one point. But before concluding our examination of this question it may be of interest to glance at another curious belief which was fairly widespread both in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. I refer to the various supposed signs of virginity in women, among them being the pitch and tone of their voice, which were believed to change after their virginity had been taken. Whether this opinion goes back into the mists of antiquity I am not at present prepared to say, but hope to return to it with a more detailed discussion in another volume.

In a book on hermaphrodites, Duval² touches upon this question. He writes:—

“Quand la fille commence a jouyr de l'embrassement de l'homme, sa voix, qui estoit claire auparavant, commence à se rendre plus fort et aspre, que les Grecs ont appelé *τραγαν*, *bouquinier*,”

and in another place he says that the voice in a virgin is *claire et plaisante*, while in her who is no longer one it is *fort aspre*. Similarly Kornmann³ discusses the question as to the change in a girl's voice through loss of virginity, and he quotes Aristotle's words on how veneriness is apt to change the tone of the voice, whilst Schurig,⁴ in

¹ J. Casserius, *De vocis auditusque organis historia anatomica* (Ferrariæ, 1601), lib. 2, cap. 24, pp. 168 ff. Cf. also J. B. Sinibaldus, *Geneanthropeia* (Rome, 1642), p. 413c and 969b.

² J. Duval, *Traité des hermaphrodites* (Paris, 1880), pp. 118 ; 123. This is a reprint of the 1612 edition.

³ H. Kornmann, *Tractatus de virginitate* (Norimbergæ, 1706) cap. LX, p. 193.

⁴ M. Schurig, *Parthenologia* (Dresdae et Lipsiae, 1729), sect. 3, cap. 3, p. 83.

his *Parthenologia* has also something to say on the same subject. It is true that certain female complaints have a marked effect upon the voice,¹ but how far the belief that loss of virginity does so is a question into which we cannot enter here. In the case of male singers a strong voice was as necessary in Rome, as Mueller² shows that it was in Greek theatres, and if infibulation was thought to be of service in this direction it is little to be wondered at that it was occasionally employed.

We have seen how the term fibula was often used to denote a sort of clamp or fastener used in surgery to hold the edges of raw cuts together, and it is probably in this sense that the genial Hollerius³ employs the verb *infibulare*. He is speaking of holding together the edges of open wounds and in discussing various methods for different parts of the body says that in some cases "*præputium assuitur et infibulatur*," showing that the word "*infibulare*" could be used without any reference to the actual custom of infibulation, a passage which reminds one of a similar extract from Vidius⁴ when he writes "*filo autem argenteo aut aureo infibulatur præputium*," although possibly he has in mind here the actual operation as we know it.

To the Danish doctor and antiquary Rhodius,⁵ how-

¹ See C. H. von Klein, *Voice in female singers affected by gynecological disorders* (Journ. Amer. Med. Assoc., Chicago, 1891, xvi, 551,) and cf. P. Gaskell *The manufacturing population of England* (London, 1833,) p. 121.

² A. Mueller, *Das attische Bühnenwesen* (Gütersloh, 1902), p. 70.

³ J. Hollerius in: J. Tagaultius, *De chirurgica institutione libri quinque. His accessit sextus liber de Materia Chirurgica, autore I Hollerio . . .* (Lugduni, 1567), p. 462. Also in: P. Uffenbach, *Thesaurus Chirurgiae* (Francofurti, 1610), p. 850. Hollerius died about 1562.

⁴ V. Vidius, *Opera* (3 vols., Francofurti a/m., 1626), *De Chir.*, lib. 4, cap. 1; vol. 3, p. 81. Cf. also on the *Fibulae chirurgicae*, Rhodius, (*op. cit.*), cap. 7, pp. 83-94; A. C. Celsus, *De med., ex recensione L. Targae* (2 vols., Neapoli, 1851-52), I, pp. 497 ff., etc.

⁵ J. Rhodius, *op. cit.*, cap. 6. The Fibula Gymnastica is the name that Rhodius himself gives to the apparatus used in infibulation.

ever, it was left to deal with the *Fibula Gymnastica* at any length. Born in Copenhagen about 1587, he spent most of his time in archæological researches, and corresponded a great deal with the most prominent scholars in Europe. After his death his MSS. passed into the hands of Bang, a Danish divine, and later were bought by Bartholin. Unfortunately in 1670 all the papers were destroyed by fire, and thereby were possibly lost many notes and suggestions on the subjects before us. In his work *De Acia*, Rhodius sets out to discover the exact meaning of the word *acia* as it is employed by Celsus (V, 26, 23) about which there had been some controversy.¹ The discussion leads him into a consideration of the fibula and chapter VI is devoted to an examination of that variety used for the purpose of infibulation. He begins by saying that the fibula is employed by singers and actors in comedy and ought therefore to be termed the citharædic and not the gymnastic fibula. He continues: "That it is used for the sake of the health and the voice is clear from Celsus. Those therefore that say that it is a bronze ring which infibulates youths to preserve the voice, which grows rough and broken through venery, do not give a description that squares exactly with it, although from this the word *infibulare* has from the first been reasonably associated." He then quotes the passage from Celsus, remarking that he is the first doctor that he knows of who described the custom, for he adds, "no one among older authors seems to be more decisive."

"For as to their tale of an infibulated Cupid in

¹ Bayle and Thillaye thus sum up the argument; "*Jacques Chifflet et Alphonse Nunnez ont voulu prouver que l'acia de Celse était un fil métallique; mais Rhodius a démontré que c'était un fil de lin tors, avec lequel les anciens faisaient les sutures, ou comme ils les appelaient fibulae*" (A. L. J. Bayle and A. Thillaye, *Biographie médicale* (2 vols., Paris, 1855), i, p. 493.

Philostratus, M. Raderus and T. Dempsterus¹ seem to have been deceived by the authority of Tiraquellus² whom they follow in many points. As for Marcellus Donatus's report, I do not know where Philostratus pictures Cupid with a golden fibula. There is no mention of one, nor is he clearer elsewhere, although he tells how the nymphs gave a golden one to Venus. So I wonder at these great men's mistake." He then goes on to mention those who were infibulated, speaking of the operation as one which would doubtless "assist professional citharoedi, but would be even better for actors, including auctioneers, reciters and others." Rhodius then proceeds to discuss some of the classical allusions, but does not seem able to present any view of a particularly original character and is restrained from saying too much on Martial's Epig. XIV, 215, for the fear of offending "bonas aures." However, he continues by saying that not only singers but also athletes made use of the fibula in order to assist them in preserving that strict continence which was so necessary to their strenuous life.

We must now digress for a few moments, whilst we glance at the evidence for the necessity of continence in athletes; a subject which will be found of importance when we come to consider the Greek form of infibulation. If the question is examined now, then it will not be necessary to go over the same ground again later, which in some cases is unavoidable owing to the similarity in the customs that we are considering.

¹ See J. Rosinus, *Antiquitatum Romanorum corpus*, etc. (Lut. Paris, 1613). The passage reads *Philostratus Lemnius in Imaginib. Cupidinem puerum, delicatum depingit, et ob id infibulatum . . .*" (p. 428).

² A. Tiraquellus, *Opera omnia* (7 vols., Francofurti ad Moenum, 1597). In ii, p. 82 he mentions a Cupid in Philostratus but says nothing about infibulation. The passage to which Rhodius probably refers is in ii, p. 55, where he states that Philostratus depicted Cupid "*fibulis aureis*." Tiraquellus was a celebrated French legal writer who was born towards 1485, and was often styled "the Varron of his age."

The desirability of continence in athletes is upheld by a great number of ancient authors, and that such chastity is almost a necessity for success in athletic contests is a fact well known in sporting circles even to-day. The difference in the method of preserving chastity however is one to which we shall now turn our attention. Mechanical restraints were employed in antiquity to a far greater extent than they are to-day, and it is with these that the custom of infibulation is chiefly connected, although in an examination of the methods it will be necessary to glance at a few authors who speak merely of the temperate habits of the professional athlete. Thus Plato¹ in the *Laws* deals with the subject of temperance, and speaks of the training for the gymnasium, saying that training itself makes for continence and asking whether all have not heard of "Iccus of Tarentum, who, with a view to the Olympic and other contests, in his zeal for his art, and also because he was of a manly and temperate disposition, never had any connection with a woman or a youth during the whole time of his training? And the same is said of Crison and Astylus and Diopompus and many others . . ." Similarly Pliny² in Bk. 34 of his *Natural History* mentions the use of lead for repressing the fires of love, and we shall find later that the athletes constantly made use of it for this purpose.

For example Galen³ speaks of the leaden plates worn by athletes in case at night the desires of love cause

¹Plato. *Dialogues*. Translated by B. Jowett (3rd ed., Oxford, 1892). *Laws* VIII, 840, vol. 5, p. 222.

²Pliny. (*Op. cit.*), lib. 34, 18 (50), vol. 5, p. 222. "*In medicina per si plumbi usus cicatrices reprimere adalligatisque lumborum et renium parti lamnis frigidioris natura inhibere inpetus veneris visaque in quiete veneria sponte naturae erumpentia usque in generis morbi.*"

³Galen. *Opera*. Ed. C. G. Kühn. (20 vols, Lipsiae, 1821-33). *De simpl. med.*, lib. IX, xii, p. 232. "*Quin et in laminam diductum plumbum ipsum per sese athletarum sese exercitantium lumbis insternitur, ubi Veneris somniis vexantur, scilicet nimirum haud obscure eos refrigerans.*"

them discomfort, and in another place¹ he points out how in those who refrain from the pleasures of Venus the genitals are found to be shrunken and withered through want of use as is the case with singers and athletes. The passage which is of importance, runs as follows:—

“At cantores et athletae, qui jam inde ab initio, nullam vitae partem Veneris illecebus contaminaverunt, nullam admittentes hujusmodi vel cogitationem, vel imaginationem, iis pudenda et exilia, et rugosa veluti senibus, fieri consuerunt nam praeterea quae accidere solent iis, qui protinus a prima juventute immodice libidini sese permiserunt, id etiam evenit, ut horum locorum vasa, amplius patentia, majorem ad se sanguinis copiam alliciant: et coeundi cupiditas majis increseat, ea videlicet ratione, quam in caeteris quoque facultatibus videre est. . . .”²

Again Clement of Alexandria³ enlarges on the continence of the athletes and singers, mentioning Amoebus, a cithara-player who, although married, abstained from consummating the union, a circumstance also alluded to by Aelianus⁴ and later by Zwinger⁵ who states that the athletes sometimes wore a fibula as well as singers and youths.

¹ Galen. *De locorum affectorum notitia libri sex* (Lugduni, 1562), lib. VI, cap. 6, p. 388.

² A small member is often considered a sign of innocence, whereas a large one is the sign of the reverse. It is perhaps in this sense that Aristophanes speaks of the πόσθη μικράν (*Nubes*, 1014. Cf. *Th.* 515) and the κωλῆν μέγλην (*Nubes*, 1018). Cf. J. Davenport (*op. cit.*), p. 35, who cites these passages.

³ Clement of Alexandria, *Opera*. Ed. Migne (Paris, 1857), *Strom.* III, 1, col. 1099 and *Strom.* III, 6, col. 1154.

⁴ C. Aelianus, *Variae historiae libri XIV*. Ed. Lünemann (Gottingae, 1811), lib. 3, cap. 30, p. 63. Cf. also Eustathius, *Commentarii ad Homerum Iliadem* (4 vols., Lipsiae, 1827-30), iv, p. 341.

⁵ T. Zwinger, *Theatrum humanae vitae* (29 vols., Basileae, 1604), ix, p. 2266, where Amoebus is cited.

Tertullian¹ also alludes to chastity in athletes, whilst Plutarch² lays it down that continence is one of the ordinary rules of good health.

Cassian,³ in writing of the customs of the athletes, also makes mention of the leaden plates as reported by Galen. He writes :—

“Atque in tantum se mundos ab omni coitus pollutione custodiunt, ut, cum se praelegant agorum certamini, ne qua forsitan per somnum nocturna delusi fallacia vires minuant multo tempore conquisitas, lamminis plumbeis renium contegant loca, quo scilicet metalli rigor genitalibus membris adplicitus obscenos umores valeat inhibere, intelligentes se procul dubio esse vincendos nec jam posse propositum certamen demptis viribus adimplere, si provisam pudicitiae solidatam fallax noxiae voluptatis imago corrupuerit.”

How far these plates of lead were successful we are not told, but the remedy becomes more and more constantly prescribed by the later authors. Thus Avicenna⁴ advises their use against nocturnal emissions, whilst Richerius⁵ in a later century mentions the same fact in connection with athletes. Tiraquellus also deals with the importance of moderation in those who engaged in athletic exercises and quotes the very curious passage in Pliny,⁶ where he says that :—

¹ Tertullian (*op. cit.*), Ad Mart., cap. 2, vol. 1, col. 624.

² Plutarch. *Moralia*. Ed. G. N. Bernardakis (7 vols., Leipzig, 1888-96. (*De tuen san. praecepta*, XV, 121, p. 317. “It has been wisely said by the ancients that in order to keep good health three things are necessary, namely, to eat moderately, to work indefatigably and to store up one’s seed.”)

³ J. Cassianus, *Opera*. (Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat., 17), Pragae, 1888. Inst. VI, cap. 7, p. 119.

⁴ Avicenna, *Libri in re medica omnes qui hactenus ad nos pervenere* (2 vols., Venetiis, 1608), i, p. 899A.

⁵ L. C. Richerius, *Lectionum Antiquarum libri XXX* ([Frankfort] 1599), lib. 15, cap. 6, p. 671G.

⁶ Pliny (*op. cit.*), lib. 28, cap. 6 (15), IV, p. 166. Pliny seems to be alone in his opinion of the effect of coitus on the voice, which

"Athletae tamen torpentes restituuntur venere, vox revocatur, cum e candida declinat in fuscam."

Mercurialis¹ insists strongly upon the chastity of athletes and the care to be observed in training, saying how the wrestlers used to wear leaden weights at night, a custom which Aubery declares to be useful to all those who wish to cure the sexual passions, and he writes of those "*reins . . . sur lesquels il portera nuit et jour une platine de plomb, avec la pudique estrainte du ceston de Venus.*"² Verduc, who wrote on surgery at the end of the seventeenth century, has a curious theory as to why these leaden weights were used. He says that lead possesses the peculiar property of throwing out certain emanations which are beneficial in cases of nightly pollutions, but this was probably not the reason that lead was originally employed, it being chosen almost certainly on account of its weight, and not from any radio-active property it might be thought to possess.³ Wedelius describes the plates at slightly fuller length than most of the later authors and states (without giving his authority) that they were perforated for ventilation purposes.⁴ In modern times the chastity observed by athletes has been noticed, but not commented upon at any length. Thus Krause⁵ mentions the fact, and quotes the words of Eustathius, where he says that "athletes

is, as we have seen, entirely opposed to the then usually accepted view. Tiraquellus says that because venery excites one it can be used to make *athletae torpentes* awake and alive. See A. Tiraquellus (*op. cit.*), ii, p. 225.

¹ H. Mercurialis, *De arte gymnastica*, etc., lib. 1, cap. 15, p. 534. Cf. also A. ab Alexandro, *Dies geniales* (Romae, 1522), lib. 5, cap. 8, and P. Faber (*op. cit.*), lib. 3, cap. 4, pp. 236 ff.

² J. Aubery, *L'antidote d'amour* (Delft, 1663), p. 245. Similarly Sinibaldus (*op. cit.*), lib. 5, tr. 2, cap. 3.

³ See J. B. Verduc, *Les opérations de la chirurgie* (2 vols. Paris, 1694) ii, p. 1053.

⁴ G. W. Wedelius. *Resp. Dissertatio de pollutione nocturna. Praes. G. Rolfincio* (Jenae, 1711), sig. G. 2.

⁵ J. H. Krause, *Die Gymnastik und Agonistik der Hellenen* (2 vols, Leipzig, 1841), ii, p. 656.

during the whole time of their contests are not allowed to approach women" (see p. 40, note), whilst Bussemaker in dealing with the subject says, in speaking of the continence of the athletes, that "pour se la rendre plus facile, il se faisaient faire des affusions froides, et s'appliquaient sur les reins des plaques de plomb pendant leur sommeil ou recouraient à l'infibulation."¹

Having taken a hasty survey of a few of the most noteworthy passages dealing with the continence to be observed by athletes, we can now return to Rhodius, who, after a brief discussion of chastity in slaves, has a few words to say upon the material of the apparatus as used for infibulation.² After remarking upon the curious fact that most authors are as silent as to its material as they are to its form, he deduces from the fact of Celsus saying "*quo levior, eo melior*," that it was made of some metallic substance, and in support he compares the statements of Pliny and Martial, which together with the opinion of the scholiasts on Juvenal make it seem probable that the fibula was sometimes at least in the form of a bronze ring. With this conclusion Rhodius goes on to speak of the description left by Pignorius, which we have already examined, from which it is clear that that author considered the fibula to be a ring, an opinion which Rhodius thinks is strongly supported by a remarkable discovery in a Roman rubbish heap. Here was found a small ring made of Corinthian bronze nearly rusted through from exposure. It was still elastic and contained a small gap,

¹ U. C. Bussemaker in his article *Athleta* in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des antiquités*, vol. i, p. 518. Cf. also A. Cabanès, *Mœurs intimes du passé* (2^e série, Paris, [1910]), p. 46. How far athletes were actually infibulated with a ring it is difficult to say, but I am inclined to think this was the exception rather than the rule. Their continence excited the desires of certain women, as we know from Athenaeus (*Dipsosophistae*; ed. G. Kaibel. 3 vols., Lipsiae, 1887-1890, iii, p. 275), a fact which reminds one of the passages already discussed in Martial and Juvenal.

² J. Rhodius (*op. cit.*), p. 58.

and its size¹ rendered it too small for even the smallest bracelet. Rhodius concludes that this ring is a specimen of that variety used for the purpose of infibulation, and then proceeds to show how, in his opinion, the fibula was sometimes not simply bare metal, but was occasionally covered with thin, soft leather. He then proceeds to deal with the case of Menophil, giving a long and wearisome examination of the state of the Jews and circumcision, whither we need not follow him, having already examined his views when dealing with the epigrams of Martial. On reading the opinions of Rhodius (and his account is the longest that we possess dating from the seventeenth century), it will be noticed how little real information even he was able to obtain: Practically nothing which could not be deduced from the classical authorities has been brought forward by Rhodius, with the exception perhaps of the finding of the ring, classed as an actual specimen.

In connection with this he casually mentions how Fabricius, who was born in 1537, when discussing infibulation before his class, showed them a fibula which he had obtained from Pinelli's collection of antiquities, and demonstrated before his pupils how, when it was applied, sexual intercourse became impossible.² Another possible example of a fibula which existed at least until the beginning of the seventeenth century is one recorded by Smetius, who in speaking of the Fibula Gymnastica says "de cujus reliquiis aliquid forte apud me superest."³

¹ The size is given by means of a woodcut. It is about $1\frac{3}{16}$ in. in diameter, and the gap not quite $\frac{1}{2}$ in. These measurements are of course, merely approximate.

² H. Fabricius, *De Chirurgicis operationibus* (Patavii, 1647), pt. 2, p. 82. "*Quare ego antiquorum fibulam Auditoribus meis ostendere solitus sum, ex Museo Illustris Pinelli habitam, et in eam immittere, ut viderent, quo modo adolescentes servarentur a coitu immunes.*" For Pinelli's life see P. Gualdus, *Vita J. V. Pinelli* (Aug. Vind., 1607). He was an erudite scholar and much beloved, it being said, "*Quis, docte Pinelle, non te amavit?*" It is noteworthy that Fabricius does not say what Pinelli's fibula was actually like.

³ J. Smetius, *Antiquitates Neomagenses* (Noviomagi Batavorum, 1678), p. 82.

In modern times few examples are known which can be definitely claimed as such. A form of fibula which was supposed to be of this kind is in the Museo Kircheriano in Rome. This is not a ring but is in the form of a small crescent of metal, through the horns of which pass a little rod fitted with knobs at either end.¹ Whether this fibula is a genuine example of one used in the operation of infibulation it is impossible to say, and as I have not had the opportunity of examining it, I cannot determine whether it could have ever been used for this purpose.

The next writer to whom I shall direct my readers' attention is Guerner Rolfinck who was born at Hamburg late in the sixteenth century and died towards 1670 at Jena. He spent many years in various European universities and in a curious little volume on the organs of generation he mentions infibulation and writes as follows:—

"Ad venereum coitum reprimendum citharoedis, comoedis et histrionibus, qui non sermone, ut hodie sit, sed altis vocibus cantibusque fabulas tam tragicas, quam comicas recitabant, transjiciebatur FIBULA, ne amore operam dantes contraherent raucidinem, Operatio vocabatur ἀγκτηριασμός infibulatio."² The voice, he remarks deliberately, is rendered harsh through sexual indulgence and for this reason infibulation is practised, an operation the Greeks called ἀγκτηριασμός. This term is the substantial form of the verb ἀγκτηριάζω, which Stephanus³ interprets as *Anctere constringo*, *Constringo fibula, quae Ancter dicitur*. Thus it is used by Galen in *De compos. med.*

¹ P. Buonanni, *Musaeum Kircherianum* . . . (Romae, 1709), p. 168, tab. 53, nr. 3. The Museo Kircheriano was founded by the Jesuit, Athanasius Kircher, 1601-1680. The collection is valuable from the point of view of infibulation as it contains both the bronze figure of an infibulated musician and the Ficoronian Cista, objects to be discussed later.

² G. Rolfinck, *Ordo et methodus generationi dicaturum partium, per anatomen, cognoscendi fabricam, liber unus* . . . (Jenae, 1664), lib. 1, cap. 60, p. 103.

³ H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* (8 vols., Paris, 1831-1865), cf. also B. Castellus, *Amaltheum Castello-Brunonianum: sive Lexicon medicum* (Norimbergae, 1688), "Ancteres."

per gen., t. 13, in the sense of fibulis juncta, the ἀγκτήρ being the Greek term which corresponds approximately to the Latin fibula, especially when used in the medical and surgical sense of closing the edges of wounds, the fibula being often used for that purpose as we have already seen. Indeed I think it open to doubt whether the term ἀγκτηριασμός was ever used for the operation we are discussing, the Greeks not knowing infibulation with a ring, their form being more properly called *Ligatura praeputii*, a custom to which the second part of this volume will be devoted.

It will be noted how in the later medical and archaeological writers, the mention of infibulation being carried out for the sake of the voice is constantly insisted on, although little comment or criticism is passed on this remarkable opinion. Thus Bulengerus, a Jesuit, who died about 1628, and who contributed to the great thesaurus of Graevius, merely states in discussing the Fibula Gymnastica that "ut suavius canerent fibula saepe cantoribus addita," thereupon passing on to something else. Another contributor to the same thesaurus was La Chausse,² a French archæologist, who lived a retired life and died at Rome about 1738. He says that the apparatus used in infibulation was of two kinds; a ring, or a wire, made either of bronze or silver, which was thrust through the prepuce or the skin which covers the glans.

This was done, he remarks, in order that boyhood might not become manhood too soon. The mention of the wire is obviously borrowed from Britannicus, and it

¹ J. C. Bulengerus, *De Circo Romano*. In: J. G. Graevius, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum* (12 vols., Lugd. Bat., 1694-99, ix, col. 992.

² M. A. La Chausse, *Dissertationes tres*. In: J. G. Graevius, *op. cit.*, vol. xii, col. 959, or La Chausse, *Romanum Museum* (Romae, 1690), p. 105. "Duo fibularum genera recensentur: una erat instar annuli, quae Adolescentulorum, et Cantorum pudendis adhibebatur, illis quidem ne puerilis aetas Veneris usu in virilitatem citius praecipitaretur . . . Utrique autem infibulabantur filo quodam tum aeneo, tum argenteo, praeputio sive cuticula glandis velamine trajecto."

must be remembered that the difference between the two kinds of fibulæ is not so great as it at first appears, since the wire bent round and fastened becomes the ring. Another author, who died about 1612 and was highly esteemed in philosophical and medical circles in Rome, was Cagnati, who in a book of observations says quite unreservedly that before sexual experience the voice is *candida*, but afterwards it is *fusca*,¹ and our own writer Bulwer² remarks in the course of his compilation of curious facts that "among the Ancients, to prevent young effeminate Inamoratos especially Comedians from untimely Venery, and cracking their voices, they were wont to fasten a Ring or Buckle on the foreskin of their yard." He continues further to surmise that this "Act of Infibulation or buttoning up the Prepuce with a Brasse or Silver Button on both sides of the Glans" was borrowed from the Egyptians and Arabians.³ Another writer whose great work *Geneanthropeia* still remains a mine of information upon the subject with which it deals, is Sinibaldus. Born at the end of the 16th century, he became one of the foremost Italian physicians, and in his famous book he deals at some length with the subject of infibulation. "Among the ancients," he says, "infibulation was quite frequently practised, since actors, comedians and tragedians, who used to declaim their plays in a high-pitched voice, took care to renounce the pleasures of love in order to preserve the tone of the voice and the pleasing harmony."⁴

¹ M. Cagnati, *Variarum observationum libri quatuor* (Romae, 1587), lib. 2, cap. 8, p. 125.

² J. Bulwer (*op. cit.*), pp. 201 ff. This is the John Bulwer who was so greatly interested in the methods used for communicating knowledge to the deaf and dumb. He was often called the "Chirosopher" on account of his treatise on the "*Natural Language of the Hand*."

³ The origin of the Roman form of infibulation is unknown. Pauw thinks it was brought from the East to Greece, and thence according to the author of *Eros* to Rome, but the information is too scanty to permit of any precise and accurate decision being reached. Infibulation of women is, of course, still practised even to-day. See Pauw (*op. cit.*), ii, p. 139, and *Eros* (*op. cit.*) i, p. 616.

⁴ J. B. Sinibaldus, *op. cit.*, p. 413.

He goes on to discuss the effect of sexual commerce on the voice, and remarks that it is not wonderful that Horace¹ forbade musicians to love. He then proceeds to compare the infibulated with eunuchs (spadones), and notes that the former "have a clear advantage over natural eunuchs," for they are voluntary abstainers and have none of the evil characters of eunuchs.² In lib. 9, tract. 2, cap. 20, Sinibaldus returns to the subject of the effect that sexual intercourse may have upon the voice and remarks that the voices of the actors in the ancient theatre were kept high not only through baths and such-like expedients, but also by the operation of infibulation which consisted in the attachment of a bronze ring to the penis, which controlled the use of the sexual organs, for coitus makes the voice weak and harsh (p. 969). He then goes on to discuss the views of Aristotle, and notes the fact that the voice, like other functions of the body, is apt to change with the onset of the sexual passions.

It will be seen from the above extracts how very scanty is the information that even Sinibaldus possessed concerning "the Art of Infibulation or buttoning up of the Prepuce." And when one turns over the yellowing leaves of an old copy of the *Geneanthropeia*, and notes the wide range of curious topics dealt in and the multiplicity of the references to now long-forgotten sages, it seems all the more remarkable that such a very curious custom as that now before us, did not receive more attention than appears to be the case.³ Even Schurig

¹ Referring to *Ars. Poet.*, 414, "*Abstinet Venere et vino : qui Pythia cantat.*"

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 416. A certain amount of confusion has arisen as to the precise difference in the operations of infibulation and castration. (Cf. O. Beauregard, *Mutilation pénienne* (Bull. de la Soc. d'Anthrop. de Paris, 1889, XII, 3 sér., p. 154). In the one case, namely infibulation, the application of the ring simply restrains passion and the capacity for coitus as long as it is in position, whilst castration permanently removes the possibility of generation, though not of coitus in certain cases.

³ An English translation of extracts of Sinibaldus has been published, namely *Rare verities, The Cabinet of Venus unlocked and her secrets laid open* (London, 1658). This book is far too scrappy

who wrote towards the middle of the 18th century did not succeed in discovering very much. Little unfortunately is known of his life. It is certain that he had a practice of some extent in Dresden, and although he has been accused by some French critics for want of good taste and lack of judgment, it can hardly be denied that his works are a mine of curious information, whilst his references are exceptionally full and accurate.

Another point in his favour is the fact of his books possessing valuable indices which greatly facilitate reference, and for the period in which he wrote are remarkable for their scope and general utility. The fullest discussion of infibulation which he has left occurs in the *Spermatologia*,¹ but the results on examining the passages are, to say the least, disappointing. He begins by recalling the well-known fact² that among the Arabians and Egyptians are some who, on account of vows of chastity, occasionally are found wearing enormous rings,³ and he proceeds to describe the operation according to Celsus, following it by an extract from Dionis, one of the most eminent French surgeons of the end of the 17th and the early part of the 18th centuries. He was

in character to give any idea of the original work. For a short account of the *Geneanthropeia* see P. Fraxi, *Index librorum prohibitorum* (London, 1877), pp. 260 ff.

¹ M. Schurig (*op. cit.*), pp. 548 ff.

² Perhaps, as Voltaire thought, personal vanity may have been at the bottom of ostentatious exhibitions of physical chastity. (See Voltaire, *Oeuvres*, *Dict. Phil.* I (Paris, 1878), p. 492.

³ He gives Veslingius as a reference. The passage runs thus:—*"Excrescit Aegyptiorum Arabumque puerulis praeputium saepius immodice. Ab illius residua portione perforata annulum gestant enormem, quotquot apud dictos populos serio castitatis voto puritatis aestimationem tuentur. Antiquitus imposita fibula cautum idem fuit.* (J. Veslingius, *Syntagma anatomicum*. Amstelodami, 1666. cap. 6, p. 96.) Similarly Schouten says that certain Persian devotees wear metal rings in their members. *"Oock zijnder die beloften van kuysheyt daen : dragende ringen van yser | of silver | aen haer schaemtelyjke deelen om ongeval van in geen onkuysheyt te vervallen."* (W. Schouten, *Oost Indische Voyagie*. (t'Amsterdam, 1676), p. 235.)

a professor of anatomy at the Jardin des Plantes, a post which he owed to the friendship of Louis XIV, and possibly also to interests in royal circles, since he was principal surgical adviser to Maria Theresa, and was a prominent figure in court society. In midwifery he attained to an enviable reputation, and it is said that his renown in this branch of medicine would have reached to an even greater lustre had not an attack of apoplexy carried him off at early age. In his book on surgery, he discusses the operation of infibulation, stating that he is unaware as to the inventor of the custom, which he terms the "bouclement de garçons," but at any rate its nature is such as to shock "le bon sens." The operation itself he describes as follows:—

"On tiroit le prépuce en dehors, et le traversant d'une aiguille enfilée on y laissoit un gros fil jusqu'à ce que les cicatrices des trous fussent faites; puis, retirant le fil, on passoit à la place une grosse boucle de fer qu'on y laissoit tout le tems que le sujet étoit dans un âge incapable de travailler à la génération. Ils prétendaient que cette boucle l'empêchant d'avoir commerce des femmes, jusques à l'âge de vingt-cinq ans qui est le temps qu'on l'ôtoit, les forces ne se dissipoient point, et qu'elles se conservoient pour engendrer des enfans forts et en état de servir la Republique."¹

Such is the account left to us by Dionis of a custom which he describes in another place as useless, and which was only to be revived as a practical suggestion over a hundred years after his death. It will be noted in the above extract that the method adopted is practically identical in broad outline with that advocated by Celsus and Oribasius, but in this case the material is said to be of iron and its size is described as large. The reasons, however, for subjecting youths to the custom have only survived in a modified form. There is no mention of the effect of continence on the voice, nor happily appear the reasons given by Martial in *Epig.* XIV, 215, or Juvenal in *Sat.* VI, 73. The only

¹ Pierre Dionis (*op. cit.*), p. 214.

recommendation put forward by Dionis as regards its practical value is that infibulation, by "buckling up youths," so preserves their generative power that they may become the healthy and prolific parents of a race of children destined to be of service to the State. Whether this suggestion may appear a practical proposition to those persons amongst us who are continually deploring the degeneration of our young people, I do not venture to say, but I offer it for their consideration as a patriotic hint which they may either take or leave as they please. That such a practical use was thought of before the end of the eighteenth century is clear from the opinion expressed by Vogel¹ who considered a form of infibulation very valuable for the purpose of checking masturbation in young persons, advice which we find again expressed by Jaeger² three years later, who comments on Vogel's words and writes as follows:—

"However unnecessary this operation may be as regards a beautiful voice, it is still to-day both practical and useful for those young persons who are addicted to onanism, all the more so, since it occasions but slight pain, can be done in a few moments, and meets with the most excellent results" (p. 124). After having dealt with some of the methods for checking this habit in young people he goes on to say that "all these means are sometimes not sufficient to damp the devilish fire of passion, which when it bursts forth in full fury so inflames the natural instinct as to lead direct to onanism. All warnings, all vivid stories of death, the devil and eternal damnation is lost upon the soul of such a slave of lust, just as a drop of water upon a glowing coal. How shall we meet this unspeakable misery? There is one way which I indeed do not know from personal experience, but which witnesses declare to meet with the desired result, and which I advise urgently in doubtful cases. That method is infibulation."

¹ S. G. Vogel, *Unterricht für Eltern*. . . . (Stendal, 1786).

² J. C. Jaeger, *Grundriss der Wund-Arzneykunst in dem ältern Zeiten der Römer* (Frankfurt am M., 1789).

Vogel then continues by speaking of the operation itself, saying that it "has not the least danger, causes but slight pain, is quickly done, and seems, as compared with other means, an infallible method of curing onanism." He goes on to declare that it is quite evident it is satisfactory and fulfils its purpose "from the fact that it was introduced into Peru for the prevention of masturbation, and was also used for a similar purpose on the island of Capul, and because according to the words of trustworthy men it has by its happy results saved a young man from despair" (p. 126).

Whether infibulation or any practice akin to that custom has ever been extensively employed in Peru for the purpose mentioned by Jaeger, I am not at present in a position to say,¹ but it seems fairly clear that in the case of Capul, Jaeger has been led astray. The island of Capul, one of the group of the Philippines, is a small piece of land about 12 square miles in extent, and forming part of the chain on the southern side of the strait of San Bernardino stretching towards Samar E. with which it is grouped. In 1887 the population was but 3,379, and the principal wealth consists of copper which is found in the mountains. According to Careri² the soil was formerly fertile and produced sufficient nourishment for the natives who inhabited it. As to the sexual customs of the people little is known.

In 1588 Cavendish is said to have been at the island of Capul, and in speaking of the inhabitants it is said that "these people use a strange kind of order among them, which is this. Every man and man-child among them hath a nayle of Tynne thrust quite through the head of his privie part, being split in the lower ende and rivetted, and on the head of the nayle is as it were a

¹ G. J. A. Witkowski in his *La génération humaine* (5^e éd., Paris, 1884), p. 146, says that Boerner affirms this to be the case, but I am not aware to what work he is alluding.

² G. Careri, *Voyage du tour du monde*. Traduit par L. M. N. (6 vols., Paris, 1719), v, p. 88. "*Son terroir est très-fertile, agréable et commode pour les Indiens qui y ont de bonnes habitations.*"

crowne: which is driven through their privities when they be yong, and the place groweth up againe, without any great paine to the child: and they take this nayle out and in, as occasion serveth: and for the truth thereof we our selves have taken one of these nailes from a sonne of one of the kings which was of the age of 10 yeeres, who did weare the same in his privie member. This custom was granted at the request of the women of the countrey, who finding their men to be given to the fowle sinne of Sodomie, desired some remedy against that mischiefe, and obtained this before named of the magistrates. Moreover all the males are circumcised."¹ With this account we may compare what Brosse² says concerning the same customs. He writes of the practice of fitting the nail and says that "*ils retirent et remettent ce clou lorsqu'ils en ont envie ou besoin*," a possibility which seems to do away with the efficacy of the custom as a preventive of sodomy, as

¹ T. Cavendish. *The admirable . . . voyage of . . . T. Candish*. In: Hakluyt's *collection of early voyages* (5 vols., Lond., 1809-12), IV, pp. 334-335.

² C. de Brosse, *Histoire des navigations aux terres australes* (2 vols., Paris, 1766), I, p. 227. Similar practices appear to have prevailed in Siam. Thus Bulwer in his *Anthropometamorphosis* (1653 ed.) says that in Siam a certain queen is reported to have ordered all male children to have a golden bell put through the prepuce to prevent sodomy. At marriage the bell is removed and fastened to the prepuce where it serves another purpose, an examination of which would lead us too far from our present subject. Bulwer himself (p. 349) does not credit these tales, thinking that the bells "ring a loud lye." Not only was sodomy considered common in Siam, so common indeed that Bulwer (p. 350) quoting from Herbert (*Some years' travels into divers parts of Africa and Asia the Great* (London, 1634), p. 196) says that the women had their dresses so made as to expose the pudenda to attract the men, but also in Annam records show that the practice was well known. (See I. Bloch, *Beiträge zur Aetiologie der Psychopathia Sexualis* (2 vols., Dresden, 1902-3), i, p. 31), and similar accounts exist as to the prevalence of these practices in other parts of Africa and the East. (For two illustrations of modern types of these customs, see Hovorka (*op. cit.*, figs. 90 and 91, p. 134), and see *Verh. d. Berl. gesell. f. Anthropol., Ethnol. u. Urges.*, 1876, pp. 24 ff. : 1880, pp. 90 ff.)

Pauw (*op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 140) seems to indicate where he refers in a footnote to Brosses' book. It will be noted that the authorities above quoted say absolutely nothing about infibulation or anything similar being employed for the prevention of onanism in Capul, and we have seen that in other lands where similar customs prevail no mention of onanism so much as occurs.

As a specific solely against masturbation the question does not appear to have been seriously opened before the first quarter of the nineteenth century, although in 1803 or thereabouts Campe is said to have cured a youth, who wore a ringed fibula for fifteen years. The account is given in *Eros* (*op. cit.*), p. 623, and the author does not give the book in which Campe details his case but it may be J. H. Campe's *Von Verwahrung der Jugend wider d. Unzuchtsünden für d. jetzigen Zeiten* (Würzburg, 1803), a work which I have not had the opportunity of consulting. The writer goes on to say that in modern times there are examples of infibulation being employed as a means against onanism, "but we do not recommend this painful and in certain cases harmful¹ operation. Where a good education and a sound morality does not protect from vice, then even infibulation will not effect a radical cure."² Whether this conclusion, differing as much as it does from that of Jaeger, is true or false, the fact remains that it was not till 1827 that a book was published which set out the doctrine that not only was infibulation valuable for the purposes of health and continence but had also a very definite social and eugenic value.

In the latter half of the 18th century, at Meissen, was born Karl August Weinhold, who became a Professor of Surgery at the University of Halle. He was deeply interested in the population question and in 1827 he pro-

¹ cf. Marx, *Infibulation suivie de la dégénération squirreuse du prépuce* (Repert gén. d'anat. et physiol. path., Paris, 1827, IV, 114.

² For a French view see M. Broca, etc. [*Sur l'infibulation*], *L'Union Médicale*, 1864, XVI, 91-94, and for an American opinion see L. Bauer, *Infibulation as remedy for epilepsy and seminal losses* (*St. Louis Clin. Rec.*, 1879-80, VI, 163-165).

pounded his extraordinary theories as to its solution in a slender volume entitled "*Von der Übervölkerung in Mittel-Europa und deren Folgen auf die Staaten und ihre Civilisation*" (Halle, 1827). Not only did Weinhold believe that the proposition about to be discussed would solve the population difficulty in general but he also claimed that the questions now taxing the energies of eugenists all the world over could be simply and adequately solved by the common adoption of his methods. The propagation of the unfit and the feeble-minded, bringing countless evils in its train and an undoubted increase in the criminal population, could be almost entirely prevented by the simple expedient proposed by the Halle professor. His grand specific, simply stated, amounted to the wholesale infibulation of a great part of the male population.

Varying in different individuals, the age-limits generally were from fourteen to thirty, and included such diverse sections of the community as beggars, unemployed, and all soldiers in the lower ranks of the army.¹ The operation itself is, according to Weinhold, as easy and as practicable as vaccination. The prepuce is drawn forward and two holes are bored through it with a metal piercer. Through the holes thus drilled are passed four or five inches of wire, the ends are brought together and carefully soldered, and the join stamped with a metal seal, so as to make it impossible to open and close the ring again without being discovered. Any possible tampering with the join would therefore be easily detected by the medico-legal authorities, and Weinhold proceeds to enumerate the punishments which should be meted out to such brazen offenders. From fourteen to seventeen the birch should be applied, from eighteen to twenty-four the treadmill is proposed, which Weinhold thinks will soon dissipate any superfluous energy which might otherwise be employed in propagating the species, and from twenty-five

¹ An eighteenth century author advised the operation for pederasts. See *Manuel de Boudoirs*. [By C. F. X. Mercier.] (4 vols, Cythère, 1240 [i.e., Paris, 1787]), ii, appendix, xxviii, p.119.

to thirty the prisoner is to be confined for a certain period on a meagre diet of bread and water. By such methods, our author avers, will such crimes be prevented.

Besides being an excellent method for solving the population problem, Weinhold declares that in cases of severe nervous disorders brought on by onanism the method of infibulating the sufferer has met with excellent results.¹ Nor is Weinhold alone in this method of treatment. We have already seen how in ancient times infibulation was practised for the sake of the health of those operated upon, and there is no reason to suppose that anything else was intended than to make masturbation a virtual impossibility.

Thus I. Bloch, in his *Sexual Life of Our Time* (London, 1908), p. 427, in discussing the prevention and cure of masturbation says that in some cases small cages have been provided, so fastened to the body as to enclose the genitals, the key being kept by the father. The use of actual mechanical pieces of apparatus is fully dealt with in J. L. Milton's "*Spermatorrhoea*" (12th ed., London, 1887), pp. 126 ff.

The author describes several rings which he has found extremely efficacious in cases of obstinate onanism. These pieces of apparatus consist of leather circlets fitted with projecting spikes on the inside. Before retiring for the night the patient puts on the ring, the points of which are arranged in such a way that they project slightly downwards, so that when the penis is flaccid no discomfort is experienced, but immediately an erection takes place the skin is pierced and the sleeper is instantly roused. In one case a patient himself invented a ring which was worn in a different manner. Instead of being fitted on to the body of the penis, it was slipped behind the glans and underneath the prepuce. In another case, cited by Milton, a complete electric installation was arranged by the bedside, a

¹ One author opposed Weinhold openly. See F. Siemerling, *Gegen die Infibulation als ein von Prof. Weinhold vorgeschlagenes Mittel, die Uebervölkerung zu hindern.* (Stralsund, 1827.)

loud alarum going off at the commencement of an erection, which successfully aroused the sufferer and enabled him to ward off the dreaded consequences. These rings, according to Milton, proved an undoubted success in a great number of cases, and their efficacy was later made a subject of discussion in medical circles (cf. J. A. Mayes in his *Spermatorrhoea treated by the lately invented rings*, Charleston *Med. J. and Rev.*, 1854, IX, 351-353). At one time they were advertised by a Mr. E. H. Perkins of Baltimore, and I find similar appliances described in a modern catalogue of a London firm. Thus on p. 34 Dr. Waters' ring is mentioned, being highly recommended to give "the sleeper timely warning," and is constructed, according to the published account, of finest tempered material with nickel plated spring. Although these rings have no actual connection with infibulation properly so-called, it has been thought as well to include a brief description of their character and methods of use, since it must be remembered that infibulation itself served the same purpose in ancient times as the modern rings do in our own.

Thus Robert James¹ in his monumental medical dictionary says that in antiquity amongst the singing boys infibulation served "as a kind of Padlock, if not to their inclinations, at least, to their Abilities," and he later expresses the opinion that "infibulation is not likely to be reviv'd," going on to say that if however "any one, who has suffered much in his constitution by preposterous Venery, should be able to get children, which is not very likely, and should be inclin'd to prevent the same Misfortunes in them by Infibulation, the Method of doing it is thus," and here he gives the method of operating as described by Celsus.

An interesting sidelight upon James's mention of a

¹ R. James, *A Medicinal Dictionary* (3 vols., London, 1743-45), II, "Infibulation." Rohleder quotes Fournier as recommending infibulation as a preventive of onanism in the nineteenth century. See M. Hirschfeld, *Sexualpathologie*, 3 pts. (Bonn, 1917-1920, etc.), 2^e Aufl., I, 178.

padlock is to found in an extraordinary story related by Dr. Marx in the *Gazette de Santé* in 1822 and reproduced by Caufeynon, *L'Eunuchisme* (Paris, 1903), p. 208.¹ An important and prosperous French manufacturer, fifty years old, and of a strong and robust constitution, approached a certain Dr. Petroz, desiring a consultation. He complained of an annoying genital flow which caused him some anxiety and of a certain number of ulcers which had appeared upon the prepuce. On examination, the foreskin was found to be drilled with a series of small holes seemingly made by some sharp instrument. On questioning the patient Dr. Petroz drew from him the following extraordinary narrative. Several years previously he had met a very attractive Portuguese woman with whom he became violently enamoured. So great indeed was his passion that he remained some years in Portugal, and slowly began to realize that the woman with whom he was living was of an excessively jealous disposition. One morning before rising he suddenly felt a sharp prick in the region of the prepuce, and on making an examination he discovered to his amazement that he had been infibulated with a neat little gold clasp which had passed through the foreskin, closed quickly by means of a spring, and could only be opened by a little key which he found was in the possession of the woman by his side. His passion for her, however was of such a nature that he yielded to her entreaties, and consented to wear the clasp, which was of course removed as occasion required. To his surprise one morning however he found that she had slipped a second on by the side of the first, and as on the former occasion the entreaties and prayers of his mistress succeeded in persuading him to wear the couple. This continued for four or five years, till owing to their constant removal and re-attachment, the state of his membrum was such that he was compelled to seek medical relief.

¹ Cf. also J. N. Demarquay, *Maladies chirurgicales du pénis* (Paris, 1877), pp. 392-393.

Whether or not this story can be accepted as a true one, it illustrates to a remarkable degree the devices adopted by human beings in their sexual relations in order to keep private and secure the chastity of their loved ones. Although the infibulation or sewing up the privates of women, cannot be dealt with here, I am unable to refrain from relating a similar story I find in my files, which occurred in England in 1737. It is taken from "The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle" (1737, vol. VII, pp. 250.)

At Leicester assizes in 1737, a man was brought up for trial for causing bodily harm to his wife. His work, being five miles from home, the accused, George Baggerley or Baggerly, of Grooby, decided to make sure of his wife's fidelity by sewing up her private parts. She however "told the case to her mother and some neighbours, who releas'd her from her pain." The prisoner was brought up and it was stated that "the said George Baggerley a certain Needle and Thread into and through the Skin and Flesh of the Private Parts of the said Dorothy in divers Places then and their wickedly, barbarously and inhumanly did force, and the said Private Parts of her the said Dorothy Baggerley, with the Needle and Thread aforesaid, did then and there sew up." It is recorded that the prisoner was fined twenty shillings and sent to prison for two years. As he left the court, the women, assembled outside, scratched him unmercifully, for his crime was not only "to the great damage of the said Dorothy" but was a reflection on the moral uprightness of the whole of womankind.

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We have now examined the principal literary authorities for the custom of infibulation in its Roman form. It remains to discuss the only two statuettes at present recorded in the literature as far as I have been able to trace it, which show the fibula in position. Very possibly there may be other examples hidden away in the private cases of European museums. Unfortunately erotic and medical antiquities are usually put out of

sight in the great national collections, often not appearing in the catalogues and thus being lost sight of, since by omitting them in the published lists students are unaware of their existence. Mr. Arthur Smith, Keeper of Greek and Roman antiquities in the British Museum, assures me that no actual example of the Roman form exists in the collection under his care, and I have pleasure in taking this opportunity of thanking him for allowing me to inspect the very curious collection of objects which passed into the possession of the Trustees through the generosity of Payne Knight and other donors. The museum at Naples possesses a private section devoted to erotic subjects from Pompeii and other remains, but from the published lists I do not remember having seen any example of an infibulated figure.¹

If any other statuettes or phalli exist, it is probable that they are preserved in collections in private hands, or in obscure corners in provincial museums on the continent whose catalogues, if any have ever been compiled, have been overlooked by research workers. However, up to the present, I have not succeeded in tracing any further specimens, and we shall proceed to discuss the two examples hitherto recorded, one of which is in the Museo Kircheriano in Rome, and the other was previous to 1914 in the Imperial Collection in Vienna. The figure in Rome is a little bronze statuette of a musician about 10 cm. in height. He is naked, thin and emaciated in appearance, and is apparently playing upon a stringed instrument which he holds in both hands. The head is bald on the crown, being represented as in so many other similar figures, and the body is half seated upon a pedestal. The penis is extremely large, much too large indeed for the rest of the body, a fact which tends to make one believe that the repre-

¹ Cf. especially C. F[amin], *Musée royal de Naples, peintures, bronzes et statues érotiques du cabinet secret* (Paris, 1836), and E. Gerhard and T. Panofka, *Neapels Antike Bildwerke* (Stuttgart, 1828), pp. 455-70. The English edition of Famin's work was published in 1871.

sentation is in reality a species of caricature. The prepuce is drawn forward, and through it is passed a small ring, which hangs down from the membrum, the glans showing behind that part which holds the ring. As to the date of this bronze, little appears to have been said, but from the description and photographs,¹ it



FIG. 1.

¹ Illustrations of the figure may be found in :—

J. J. Winckelmann, *Monumenti antichi inediti spiegati ed illustrati* (2a ed., 3 vols., Roma, 1821), ii, tav. 188, p. 245. (See Fig. 1.)

L. Stieda (*op. cit.*), fig. 10, p. 248.

O. Hovorka (*op. cit.*), fig. 93, p. 137.

O. Beauregard (*op. cit.*), p. 154.

E. Hollaender, *Plastik und Medizin* (Stuttgart, 1912), fig. 248, p. 345.

C. Stoll (*op. cit.*), fig. 45, p. 497.

Of these, Hollaender's is from a photograph. The drawings from Winckelmann are fanciful, but give some idea of the figure. (See fig. 1.)

may possibly be assigned to the Early Imperial Roman period, but I am unable to decide with any degree of certainty till I have had the opportunity of inspecting the original bronze. The importance of the figure lies in the fact that it affords a striking illustration of the passages in Martial and Juvenal, proving conclusively that a ring was at least one form of the fibula about which they write. The second example of an infibulated figure is that of a naked negro 9 cm. in height and preserved in Vienna.

It appears to have been first described by Conze¹ who noted the fact that it was uncatalogued and spoke of it as "eine bronzene negerartige Figur mit einem Ringe am Glied." A later description was furnished by Schneider² who describes the figure as that of a characteristically formed statuette of a negro 9 cm. high and standing on two flower-bell-like ornaments. The fists are clenched and the head covered with bushy hair is inclined towards the left. The right arm is hanging down, slightly behind the body, whilst the left is drawn up near the shoulder. Through the prepuce, which is as in the figure in Rome, drawn over the glans, is a small ring, also of bronze, the membrum itself being of the same exaggerated proportions as in the former case. The place of origin of the figure seems to be unknown and the date that may be assigned to it is alike uncertain. The only reproduction from a photograph that I have seen is given by Stieda (*op. cit.*, fig. 10, p. 248), who was supplied by Dr. Schneider²

¹ A. Conze, *Übersicht neuer Erscheinungen der archäologischen Litteratur*. (Ztschr. f. d. öster. Gym., Jahrg. XXIII, Wien, 1872, pp. 837-861.) Mention is made of the figure on p. 842.

² R. Schneider, *Über zwei unedirte Griechische Bronzen*. (Jahrb. der kunst-historischen Samml. d. All. Kais., 1885, III, p. 7.) Schneider gives the number of the figure as 396, but I am not aware from what source he derived this information. A brief account of examples of bronzes showing negro types is also included in this article, and it is interesting to note how an infibulated negro offers an illustration of another group of persons who suffered the operation, namely, slaves.

with a photograph of the original in the Imperial Collection.¹ These, as I have said, are the only two recorded examples of statuettes showing the custom of infibulation actually in use, and I do not think that any other representation, either in painting or engraving, is known to exist. We have seen in the foregoing pages what the operation actually was, and what class of people suffered it. Infibulation therefore may be defined as an operation employed in antiquity, whereby in the case of males a ring or some similar object was attached to the prepuce. Those who suffered the operation were, as we have seen, singers, musicians and slaves, the main reason being to preserve the voice, since it was widely thought in ancient times that Venus corrupted the voice, a subsidiary reason being to prevent masturbation, for which aim infibulation seems to have been practised in isolated cases down to the 18th century.

How far the custom was popular in ancient Rome it is impossible to say. It seems to me probable that it was rare, an example of those crazes for novelty which have always been characteristic of the world's upper ten thousand. There is no more reason to suppose that the custom was widespread in antiquity than there is to imagine that the amusements of to-day, which are invented by a society too brainless to do anything else, are common in all ranks of high life. However, by some it may be thought somewhat extraordinary and even incredible that the customs that we have been considering should have ever had a recognized place in the society of any nation or in any age. Yet when we turn the pages of the old chroniclers and note the amazing picture of Roman life therein portrayed, and then consider the bitter words of the ancient satirists, such a custom as infibulation seems a mere detail in the social life of an era as ghastly as it was romantic. For a public sated with cruelty and lust, the theatre

¹ A reproduction from Stieda is found in A. Sticker's *Die Infibulation bei die Griechen und Römern* (Die Umschau, 1904, viii, 352-354).

became a meeting place for all those who wished to satisfy their morbid cravings. As in the case also of the gladiatorial shows, they pandered to the tastes of the many perverts, who, scenting satisfaction in a city so wholly given up to sensual luxury, thronged these carnivals of cruelty, and looked forward to an unfettered enjoyment of that strange passion whose many ramifications found a literary home so many years later in the extraordinary works of the author of *Justine*. It was in the theatres that performances were given which could scarcely help sharpening even the most jaded appetite. The myths of antiquity provided ample material for such representations, and the adventures of the gods themselves formed a theme for amusement which invariably excited the most frenzied applause¹ amongst the audience.²

In such a society as this, there is nothing indeed surprising in the fact that the theatre was as full of corruption as the world which it reflected. The actors were a degraded caste, and the greater part of them were either slaves, or had formerly been such. The dangerous character of the theatrical performances was insisted on by Juvenal, Martial and Seneca no less than by Tertullian, Hilarius or Salvianus. As Sir Samuel Dill says in his discussion of the Roman world as seen through the eyes of the satirists, "actors, musicians and gladiators became a danger to the peace of households as well as to the peace of the streets."³ Small wonder is it therefore that in days such as these

¹ Cf. Arnobius, *Ad. nat.*, lib. VII, iv, 36 (Corp. script. eccl. Lat., iv, Ed. A. Reifferscheid, Vindobonæ, 1875, p. 170).

² Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* vi, 64.

Tuccia vesicæ non imperat, Appula gannit
Sicut in amplexu. . .

For the meaning of *vesicæ* see P. Ménière, *Études médicales sur les poètes latins* (Paris, 1858), p. 349 and cf. J. E. M. Cenac-Moncaut, *Histoire de l'amour dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1862), p. 318 and Charlier de Gerson, *Opera omnia* (5 vols, Antwerpiae, 1706), iii, not. 2, p. 337.

³ S. Dill, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

the actors should have been treated as a plaything, and that infibulation should have been employed, not only for preserving the voice, but as Martial so bitterly puts it, "carius ut futuant."

But it must not be supposed that this extravagance and luxury and waste were universal all over the Roman world. In the country, away from the turmoil and traffic of the city streets, men and women still lived a life of dignified simplicity, almost wholly unaffected by the stories of the dark doings in commercial and worldly centres of activity. As Dill says, "who can forget the picture of the country youth, coming for the first time to the great city, and entering the baths all unashamed with no need to conceal the too obvious signs of a life of constant excess and dissipation?" He has not yet succumbed to the foolish customs of an effeminate society, neither "*vellendas jam praebuilt*, alas," nor given his person over to the vulgar *alipilus*, immortalized by Seneca,¹ who with his shrill and piercing voice continually advertises his trade and is only silent when his wretched victim begins to scream on his own account as the hair is rapidly torn out by the roots.²

Indeed there is no more ground for supposing that the mental and moral standards of the governing classes of Rome were those of the whole of provincial society, than there is to imagine that the prevailing moral tone of the young fops of the Piccadilly clubs is in any way indicative of cultured opinion outside the capital. The fact that the so-called "bloods" in English crack regiments are accustomed to wear corsets³ in order to

¹ *Ep. moral*, iv (56). Cf. F. C. Forberg, *op. cit.*, i, 89, 107.

² For further information, see I. Bloch, *Der Ursprung der Syphilis* (2 pts., Jena, 1901-1911), pt. II, pp. 572-573; 661-662; C. Dezobry, *Rome au siècle d'Auguste* (4 éd., 4 vols., Paris, 1875), i, p. 444; E. Dupouy, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

³ A fashionable tailor told me in 1918 that they were becoming increasingly popular. Cf. E. Fuchs, *Die Weiberherrschaft* (3 vols., München, 1913-14), ii, p. 645. Their female relations are quite as foolish. "Manicure parties" were all the rage in 1919, the nails being painted with coloured designs, whilst the eyes of middle-aged women were rendered full of youth's brightness by a beauty treatment costing £300!

improve their figures, and confine their light conversation to such subjects as musical comedy or face massage, merely suggests that high life in Britain is similar to the fashionable world in general, and is not by any means a sign that the youth of the period is wholly addicted to such frivolities. Even though a Nero or a Heliogabalus reigned supreme over a corrupt and fawning court, and in surroundings of the grossest lubricity and cruelty, there must have been thousands of patient rural workers, dwelling peacefully beneath the soft southern skies, and sleeping each night in quiet homesteads beneath the studded canopy of an Italian night. It is of little real concern to the villager whether aristocracies choose to pass their short existences amongst surroundings both repulsive and loathsome.

He perpetuates himself: his work is the same throughout the ages. The mode of traction may differ, does differ in the different localities, but the intention is the same; food for the body and the capacity to reproduce the species: such is the eternal cycle throughout the ages.

CHAPTER II.

THE GREEK FORM (*Ligatura praeputii*).

WE have seen in the previous section how infibulation amongst the Romans took the form of a ring which was passed through the prepuce, thus preventing sexual indulgence, and according to popular opinion preserving the quality and tone of the voice. Celsus, we saw, left a fairly detailed account of the operation, which, supplemented by what is left from Oribasius, gives us a tolerably clear conception of what the custom was actually like. It will be remembered also that we found the apparatus illustrated by a couple of bronze figures now in Continental museums, which show in one case an almost caricature-like figure of a musician, and in the other a negroid figure of what may be presumed to be a slave. From the accounts in the classical authors it is clear that slaves, musicians, actors and youths were sometimes subject to the operation, the use and effects of which can now be clearly understood from the preceding chapter.

We have now to turn to another custom formerly in use amongst the Greeks, and possibly also amongst the Etruscans, which is of such obscurity that it seems doubtful if we shall ever obtain a completely satisfactory explanation of its origin and meaning. One great difficulty in dealing with the subject is the extraordinary paucity of literary references. Even assuming that those passages which have hitherto been adduced have a distinct reference to the custom before us, the earliest of them is of the second century A.D., and of the three others, the latest of which dates from the fifth century, two at least, as I shall try to show later, have actually nothing whatever to do with the practice as has hitherto

been commonly believed. We have therefore to fall back to a great extent on information gathered from other sources, and fortunately a certain number of vases and mirrors have been preserved which give us an excellent idea of the custom as it formerly existed in ancient times.

In the case of what I have styled the Roman form of infibulation, it will be remembered that the first author cited was Celsus, in whose work *De Medicina* we found a short but sufficiently detailed description of the operation as it was then known, together with a few remarks as to its purpose and effect. But of the custom to be now examined no such description has to my knowledge ever been recorded. So scanty indeed are the existing literary references and so scrappy is the information supplied therein, that no clear idea as to the practice can be obtained from them. Before, however, we examine these passages, it will be well if we first of all turn to a pictorial representation of the custom, so as to obtain at the outset a clear idea as to its form and general appearance. Unfortunately for English students by far the greater number of examples occurring on the Greek vases are to be found in the collections belonging to continental museums, Germany and Italy being especially rich in such specimens. There is, however, one very beautiful example in this country, which is at present in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum. The crater in question belongs to the red-figured class, is signed by the painter Nikias, and dates probably from about the latter half of the fifth century B.C., having been acquired by the Trustees in 1898 from the Tyszkiewicz Collection.¹ A victor in a torch race is seen standing before an altar in the act of being crowned. Two other torch-runners are also represented and it is on one of them that an example of the custom before us is shown. The person

¹ See W. Fröhner, *La Collection Tyszkiewicz* (Munich [1892]), p. 32, pl. 35; *Guide to the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum* (4th ed., London, 1912), p. 242.

in question is a naked man who is seemingly running away from the figure of Victory who is approaching the altar. He wears a diadem upon which are inscribed

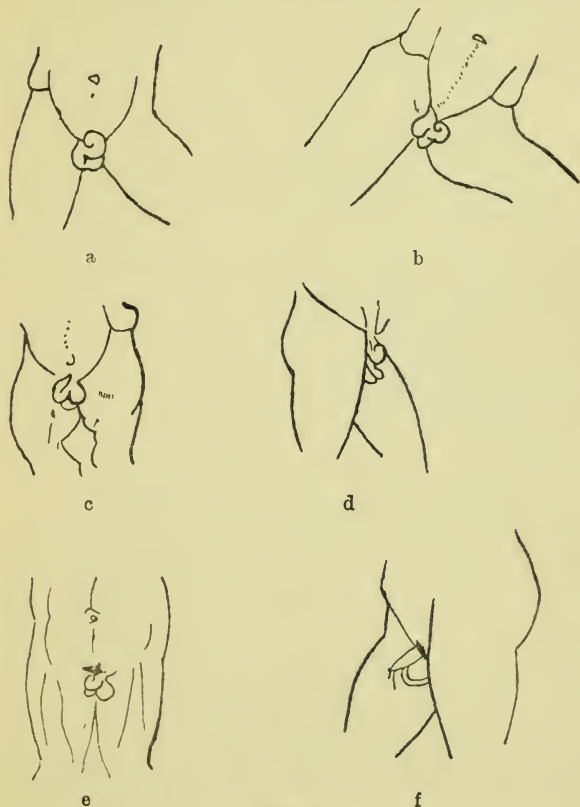


FIG. 2.

the letters ΑΙΝΗ, whilst the general character of the drawing suggests that he is a man of muscular and athletic build. But the point to which our attention

must be directed is the fact that the prepuce of his membrum appears to have been drawn forward and tied up with some sort of thread or string, two ends of which are distinctly visible against his thigh as he runs forward, the body being laterally presented to us (see fig. 2f). It is this tying-up of the end of the foreskin, or *ligatura praeputii*, as I prefer to call it, which we shall now proceed to examine in some detail, and as in the former section of this work we will commence by examining those passages which have been brought forward as illustrating the point at issue; and it will be convenient if we treat the literary references in as near chronological order as possible. The first author then to be quoted is Phrynichus Arabius the Grammarian, who flourished about 180 A.D. Among his works, many of which are lost, was a book usually known as *Σοφιστικὴ παρασκευὴ* or *Sophistical Equipment*. What is left is but a fragment, and it is interesting as such, for it was in a further fragment contained in a MS. at Paris and discovered by Bekker that the word occurs which is said to refer to the practice under consideration. This passage runs as follows:—

κυνοδέσμαι: αἷς τὰ αἰδοῖα οἱ Ἀττικοὶ
ἀπεσκολυμμένοι αποδοῦνται. κύνα δὲ τὸ
αἰδοῖον ἐκάλουν.¹

These lines can be translated into English thus: “κυνοδέσμαι: the thing with which the people of Attica who have their prepuces rolled back bind their penis: they call the genitals (or ‘the glans’) *κύν* (dog), *δεσμός* being a chain.” Stieda (*op. cit.*, p. 284) translates the phrase by “Mit der Kynodesme werden die Schamglieder der Attiker gebunden, die ἀπεσκολυμμένοι sind” (With the cynodesmion are the genitals of the people of Attica bound, who are ἀπεσκολυμμένοι, and he goes on to say, following Hovorka (*op. cit.*, p. 137), that ἀπεσκολυμμένοι

¹ Phrynichus. *Sophistae Praeparatio Sophistica*. Ed. J. de Borries (Lipsiae, 1911), p. 85: the version followed by I. Bekker (*Anecdota Graeca*, 3 vols., Berolini, 1814-1821, I, 49) has οἷς instead of αἷς.

refers to those who have the glans uncovered and not to circumcision. It is true that the term is rarely applied to a circumcised individual, rather having the special meaning of one who, although having a prepuce, has it rolled back. Thus Hesychius for ψαλόν gives τὸν ἀπεσκολυμμένους (Lexicon, 5 vols., Jena, 1858-68, vol. iv, p. 316) and he uses the word also in other connections, as for example,

Λομβούς · τοὺς ἀπεσκολυμμένους (III, 49)

κάβηλος · ὁ ἀπεσκολυμμένος τὸ αἰδοῖον.

οἱ δὲ ὄνος (II, 382)

κάληβος · ἀπεσκολυμμένος τὸ αἰδοῖον (II, 397),

where κάβηλος and κάληβος are corruptions of βάκηλος. Pollux gives the same sense when he writes, ὁ δὲ πόσθης ἔρημος, ἀπεσκολυμμένος in which the bare membrum—*praeputium excoriatum*—is evidently meant.¹ The word ψαλός,² which as we have seen above Hesychius uses for ἀπεσκολυμμένος is found in a few rather obscure passages, and its translation has varied according to the different interpretations of the various authorities. In Aristophanes' *Plutus*, 267, the word as the scholiast understands it is obviously used in a derogatory sense,³ but Rogers translates it as "circumcised"⁴ although elsewhere he states that it never in the comedies of Aristophanes has any reference to the rite of circumcision but is invariably equivalent

¹ Pollux. *Onomasticon* (2 vols, Amsterdam, 1706), ii, 176, i, p. 240.

² Similarly the substantive ψαλή. Cf. Aristophanes, *Lys.* 143; *Birds* 507, 979, etc.; Archilochus in T. Bergk, *Poetae lyrici graeci* (3 vols., Lipsiae, 1900-15), 124 (107), ii, p. 422; T. Zielinski, *Quaestiones comicae*, in *Журналъ Министерства Народнаго просвѣщенія* fascs. 11, 12, 1886, pp. 102 ff.; *Etymologicum Magnum*, 120, 26, etc.

³ See W. J. Rutherford, *Scholia Aristophanica* (London, 1896, 1905), i, 33.

⁴ Aristophanes. *The Plutus*. Tr. by B. B. Rogers (London, 1907), p. 31.

το ἔστυκός.¹ In the passage before us it seems also quite clear that no hint of circumcision is intended or implied, but that simply the band or thread which the Attics used to employ for the purpose of tying up their prepuces if they had them rolled back was called κυνοδέσμαι, a word taken from the Greek words for "dog" (κύων) and "chain" (δεσμός), being accustomed at times to term the penis κύων.²

The next passage we shall examine is taken from Pollux, the Greek grammarian, who flourished in the second century A.D. In his Greek dictionary, usually called the *Onomasticon*, is a passage which has been commonly thought to refer to the band for tying-up the foreskin as mentioned by Phrynichus. It runs as follows:—

ὃ δὲ τὴν πώσθην ἀπεδοῦντο, τούτου τὸν
δεσμόν κυνοδέσμιον ὠνόμαζον

which can be translated in two ways. The first, or one usually adopted, is "the band (or chain) with which they bind the prepuce is called the cynodesmion," or as a Latin version runs, "*vinculum vero, quo praeputium alligant, cynodesmion nominaverunt.*" Stieda (*op. cit.*, p. 282), following Hovorka (*op. cit.*, p. 137), regards this passage as one referring to the custom with which we are dealing, and the majority of later critics seem to have concurred in his opinion, whilst it must be admitted that at first sight it does seem to have some connection with it. I must, however, depart from this

¹ Aristophanes. *The Knights*. Tr. by B. B. Rogers (London, 1910), p. 135.

² *Ety. Mag.*, κύων · τὸ κάτω τῆς πώσθης συμπεφυκὸς τῷ δέρματι. The reasons given by the *Ety. Mag.* are various and the whole article should be consulted. Properly κύων seems as if it ought to have been applied simply to the frenum but I find little evidence for the opinion expressed in the New Sydenham Society's *Lexicon* that the term was applied to the frenum because that part is particularly developed in the dog. Cf. also Fallopius, *op. cit.*, tom. 3, tract. 2, cap. 9, 339, and W. Ellenberger and H. Baum, *Systematische und topographische Anatomie des Hundes* (Berlin, 1891), p. 347.

established precedent and try to show that the passage need not and indeed does not contain any reference to the strange practice of *ligatura praeputii*. Before doing so, it will be convenient if we glance at the context from which the passage is taken. Lib. II, cap. iv, segm. 171 of the *Onomasticon* is a section dealing with the organs of generation, a Latin version of which runs:—

Quae vero sub his sunt, pudenda, quorum praelonga pars urinam ex vesica deferens, penis nominatur. Et Στήμα secundum medicos, quod huic conjunctum est. Pars vero non dependens ab eo, ὑπόστημα, et vesicae collum. Quemadmodum penis extremitas, glans et ejus foramen, urethra dicitur Hujus vero cutis, praeputium. Sicut et praeputii prominentia ἀκροποσθία vocatur. Vinculum vero, quo praeputium colligant cynodesmion nominaverunt. Testiculorum autem aut geminorum vasculum, scrotum vocatur. . . .¹

He is describing the male generative apparatus, and after speaking of the prepuce and of the extreme end of the foreskin which is called the ἀκροποσθία, he continues by mentioning something called the cynodesmion (κυνοδέσμιον). This something lexicographers have hitherto held to be the *ligatura praeputii* as seen on the vases, but it seems to me far more probable that it is simply the frenum, the median fold of the extremity of the integument of the lower side of the penis. He has mentioned the prepuce and the extremity of its skin, and then goes on to say that the band with which their prepuces are bound is called the cynodesmion. The translation is perhaps a little strained, but it certainly can bear such an interpretation and from the context is exactly what we should have expected. To import into a description of the male genitals a mention of the *ligatura praeputii*, as seen on the monuments, seems quite out of place if the normal explanation can be satis-

¹ Pollux, *op. cit.*, II, 171, vol. i, p. 237.

factorily derived from the passage in question. I shall now proceed to show how the word *κυνοδέσμιον* has always had *two* meanings, one of which is the *frenum* or *frenulum praeputii*. Thus Hesychius seems to imply it when he writes, *κυνοδέσμη · δεσμὸς ἀκροποσθίας*,¹ where he interprets the word by "chain of the extremity of the prepuce,"² or in other words the *frenum*, a translation far more likely than that read into the words by Hovorka³ and Stieda.⁴

The confusion that has arisen between the two meanings of cynodesmion is well illustrated from a passage in Laurentius who writes as follows:—

Glandem praeputio alligat vinculum *κύνων* dictum *καὶ* *κυνοδέσμιον* id est, canum vinculum, aliis *χαλινὸς*, frenum fibula,⁵

where he gives the meaning as *frenum* and *fibula*, the latter term being used in the sense of "fastener" and not of course, as Liddell and Scott⁶ would have it, the *Comoedi fibula* of Juvenal. Similarly Gorraeus for *κυνοδέσμιον* writes:—

dicitur vinculum quo membri genitalis cuticula cum glande colligatur. Id etiam *κύνων* appellant Latini canem aut caninum vinculum dicere possunt,⁷

where the *frenum* is obviously meant, and Plazzonus

¹ Hesychius, *op. cit.*, II, 554. Cf. Budaeus when he says for *κυνοδέσμιον* vinculum praeputii. (G. Budaeus, *Lexicon*, 1554, sig. rr. iiii), and also the 1746-66 ed. of Hesychius, vol. i, col. 380.

² The *ἀκροποσθία* (*ἀκροποσθίν*) is used both for the prepuce and its extremity. Cf. Hippocrates, *Aphor.* VI, 19; Rufus of Ephesus, *Oeuvres*; ed. C. Daremberg et É. Ruelle (Paris, 1879), p. 146; Gregory of Corinth, *Libri de dialectis*; rec. Gisb. Koenii, etc. (Lipsiae, 1811), p. 458, etc.

³ Hovorka, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

⁴ Stieda, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

⁵ A. Laurentius, *Historia anatomica humani corporis* (Francoforti [1599]), lib. 7, cap. 7, p. 263.

⁶ H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek English Lexicon* (8th ed., Oxford, 1901), p. 860.

⁷ J. Gorraeus, *Opera* (Parisiis, 1622), p. 349.

employs the same method of interpretation when he writes :—

glandem praeputio alligat parte inferiore vinculum quoddam, quod frenum et fibula vulgo il filetto.¹

Rolfinck, in speaking of the *frenum* in his book on the generative organs, actually quotes Pollux in this connection, evidently taking the passage in the *Onomasticon* as referring to it,² whilst Castellus in his medical lexicon for the term *frenum* gives :—

Frenum, Fraenum, κυνοδέσμιον, dicitur vinculum illud, quo praeputium glandi penis adhaeret. Alii Canem vocant,³

Blancardus, a Dutch physician who lived in the latter half of the seventeenth century, following him by writing :—

Fraenulum, seu Fraenum penis, est membrana, qua praeputium glandi alligatur. Graec κυνοδέσμιον Alii canem vocant.⁴

Schurig also says the same when he writes, *fraenum penis, quod κυνοδέσμιον dicitur*,⁵ and Valentini,⁶ quoting Schelhass agrees with this interpretation, whereas James, although quoting from Gorraeus, seems a little doubtful as to the correct rendering to be adopted.⁷

¹ F. Plazzonus, *De partibus generationis* (Lugd. Bat., 1644), p. 67.

² "Frenum, κυνοδέσμιον caninum vocat vinculum Julius Pollux *Onomast.* t. 36. alii plane canem (G. Rolfinck, *op. cit.*, p. 104). Cf. H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, etc.

³ B. Castellus, *Amaltheum Castello-Brunonianum : sive Lexicon medicum* (Norimbergae, 1688); cf. also C. Bauhinus, *Theatrum anatomicum* (1621), lib. 1, cap. XXXII, note X, p. 110, and J. F. Pierer und L. Choulant, *Medizinisches Realwörterbuch* (8 vols., Leipzig und Altenburg, 1816-29), Bd. II, p. 292, where cynodesmion = frenulum praeputii, and Pollux is referred to.

⁴ S. Blancardus, *Lexicon novum medicorum* (Lugd. Bat., 1690).

⁵ M. Schurig, *Spermatologia* (Francof. a. M., 1720), p. 453.

⁶ M. B. Valentini, *Corpus juris medico-legalis constans ē pandectis . . .* (Francoforti, 1722). "*Frenum penis, sive κυνοδέσμιον, osculotenus, ut Lindanus loquitur, glandi praeputium convincit*" . . . (Pt. 1, sect. 1, cas. 9, par. 6, p. 11).

⁷ R. James, *op. cit.* "Cynodesmion. A ligature by which the prepuce is bound upon the glans."

We have seen how the word *κυνοδέσμιον* seems to have had two meanings, the first in the sense used by Phrynichus, and the second as another term for that part of the penis commonly called the frenum. We shall now therefore pass on to another author, Photius, who gives an extremely interesting definition of *κυνοδέσμη* and which can be compared with that left by Phrynichus. He was born about A.D. 820, and was a man of wide and varied knowledge, rising to be Patriarch of Constantinople. He is known to have possessed an extensive library, whilst he knew something of medicine, and is the author of a lexicon, which, although usually associated with his name, was probably largely the work of some of his pupils, and was primarily intended as a book of reference to those ancient authors whose language was already becoming obsolete.¹ Under the word *κυνοδέσμη* we read:—

*δερμάτιον ὃ τὰς ἀκροποσθίας ἀποδοῦσιν οἱ περὶ τὰς ἀποδύσεις ἀσχημονοῦντες.*²

which can be translated "a small piece of skin with which those who are disgraced in stripping bind the end of the prepuce." Stieda (*op. cit.*, p. 284), who follows the same interpretation as that attempted by Hovorka (*op. cit.*, p. 137), translates the passage thus: "*Kynodesme ist ein Riemenchen (ein häutiges), womit man die Vorhaut derjenigen bindet, die beim Auskleiden sich unanständig betragen.*" [Cynodesmion is a little band (of skin) with which the prepuce of those is bound, who in undressing behave themselves in an unseemly manner.] Various explanations have been proposed for the above passage, and for the one already examined from the grammarian Phrynichus. Stephani,³ in his brief treatment of *ligatura praeputii*, thinks that it was employed

¹ See J. Hergenroether, *Photius, Patriarch von Constantinopel* (3 vols., Regensburg, 1867-69).

² Photius, *Lexicon*. Ed. S. A. Naber (2 vols., Leidae, 1864-65), vol. i, p. 359).

³ Stephani, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-151.

for what he terms "medical reasons" (*medizinische Zwecke*) although without stating in what these consisted, whilst Hovorka¹ looks upon the custom simply as a protective device (*Schutzvorrichtung*) for the prevention of external injuries to the glans, going on to point out how the custom of nudity common in the athletic contests would leave these parts wholly unprotected. He then proceeds to discuss certain similar customs amongst modern savage tribes, where we need not follow him for the present. Stieda, on the other hand, regards the whole custom of binding the foreskin over the glans as a practice dictated by the exigencies of modesty, since having a short prepuce was considered a disgrace. He writes: *Die Ligatura praeputii, die Anwendung der Kynodesme war eine durch die Schamhaftigkeit der damaligen Zeit gebotene Sitte—eine Sitte des Anstandes.*"² [The *ligatura praeputii*, the practice of *cynodesmion*, was a custom exacted by reason of contemporary modesty—a custom based on feelings of propriety.]

How far these explanations, and others that have been attempted, may be said to be satisfactory, we shall consider later; now it will be necessary to discuss that opinion already noticed in Pt. I, that among the Greeks a short prepuce was considered in the nature of a disgrace. As Stieda's whole explanation of *cynodesmion* depends upon it, it may be of interest to examine the question in some detail; firstly by glancing at a selection of the literary references; secondly by considering any information offered by the monuments of antiquity, and lastly by a brief survey of any similar customs and ideas still existing amongst the modern coloured races.

¹ Hovorka, *op. cit.*, p. 140. "*Die Kynodesme dagegen halte ich für eine wohlbegründete Schutzvorrichtung, um die äusserst empfindliche Oberfläche der Eichel vor äussern Insulten zu schützen, um das durch Reiben, Zerren und Baumeln gefährdete Glied zu immobilisiren. . . .*" He explains the passages in Phrynichus and Photius by suggesting that those who had not full control of themselves in the nude condition might find such a device as *cynodesmion* useful for the purpose of avoiding untoward accidents!

² Stieda, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

We have already seen from the passage in Phrynichus that cynodesmion was the name given to the little band or thread with which those Attics who had their prepuces rolled back bound their foreskins, and although it is not clear whether this was done because an uncovered glans was considered a disgrace, it seems fairly clear that such an idea was prevalent in antiquity, being commented upon as far down as the sixteenth century. For example, Celsus, whose name is now quite familiar to my readers, has a passage in Lib. VII, 15, of his *De Medicina* which is headed, "*Ad tegendam glandem colis, si est nuda*," and he goes on to say that in those cases where the glans is bare some persons desire to have it covered "*decoris causa*," seemingly implying that it was a disgrace, or at least a disfigurement, not to have this part duly covered by the prepuce. Similarly, as we have already seen, Paulus Aegineta speaks of a short prepuce and of the deformity resulting from it, but giving it as his opinion that the operation employed for covering the glans is rarely necessary, as people prefer the deformity to the pain involved in surgical treatment.¹ Fallopius also discusses the same point in a section of his work entitled *De Decoratione*. He begins by mentioning such disfigurements as an injured nose, ear or lip, and then boldly states, although unfortunately without giving his authority, that in antiquity among those who showed themselves naked in the palaestra, an absent prepuce was a mark of great disgrace, so they tried to have it covered by means of an operation.² Fabricius also, who died during the first few years of the seventeenth century, also speaks briefly of the operation "*ad tegendam colis glandem detectam*."

He is struck by the curious nature of this feeling of shame, since the part is usually hidden from view and goes on to say :—

¹ Cf. Oribasius, *op. cit.*, IV, 460.

² G. Fallopius, *op. cit.*, tom. 3, tract. 2, cap. X, p. 340. He probably refers to *recutitio*, and the mention of the palaestra may be derived from Josephus. (*Antiq. Jud.*, lib. XII, cap. V (VI).

"Certe nunc longe magis has Chirurgias damnandas censemus, quod magni sint, proindeque atroces, et sine ulla morbi occasione, sed tantummodo decoris gratia ex Celso fiunt: atq; is decor (si Dijs placet) in una parte desideratur ac tentatur, quae omnibus oculis tecta custodiri debet."

He asks why, even if the genitals are shameful, must not the glans be uncovered,

"Quid igitur officit ipsius colis actioni habere glandem detectam? prorsus nihil,"

and concludes by pointing out how cruel an operation it is merely for the sake of "decency,"

"Videatis quaeso, quaenam saeva operatio est haec, quae nullius morbi, sed decoris tantum causa peragitur."¹

Sinibaldus² also quotes Fallopius's opinion as to the treatment of the shortened prepuce, but does not supply any new data to enable us to have a better understanding of the subject.

Having now noticed a few of the more important literary allusions we will proceed to the monuments. In ancient classical works of art it has been noticed both in statues and vases that in the case of males the membrum is unusually pointed and the prepuce exceedingly long. Indeed, Stieda goes so far as to say that in each case this condition is unnatural but has been artificially produced by means of the *ligatura praeputii*, which, on account of the difficulty of showing the loose ends, is not actually shown on stone or terra-cotta figures, merely the result being indicated in the form of a prepuce so long as to be regarded as showing a sort of phimosis.³ I do not know whether Stieda has any other evidence than that presented in his book, but it seems to me improbable that his explanation is correct. Even

¹ H. Fabricius, *op. cit.*, ii, 80, 81.

² J. B. Sinibaldus, *op. cit.*, lib. 3, tr. 1, cap. 6, col. 320 ff. Cf. also Franck de Franckenau [G. Franckius], *Satyrae medicae XX* (Lipsiae, 1722), pp. 8 ff.

³ Stieda, *op. cit.*, p. 277, and Cf. E. Holländer, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

if a difficulty is experienced in showing loose ends in such hard substances as stone, bronze, marble or terracotta no such difficulty would have been encountered in showing a raised band around the prepuce indicating the ligature. It is far more likely that the ancient sculptors and painters so formed their figures that no such defect as a short prepuce was visible, and no doubt in some cases this customary lengthening of the foreskin does give an appearance of phimosis.

From the paintings on the vases there is some evidence that the glans penis was only shown in dealing with erotic or obscene subjects,¹ it being shown principally on those mythological characters who were considered to be especially addicted to the rites of Venus.

As to the pointed character of the phallus in ancient artistic productions, I shall now give a short list of particularly striking examples.

(1) Red-figured kylix (E. 63) in the British Museum. Shows two youthful boxers, and gives a good idea of how the prepuce has apparently been drawn forward. (See Cecil H. Smith, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan*

¹ Cf. for example the Brygos kylix E. 65 in the British Museum which portrays scenes from the satyric drama, and in which the ithyphallic Seileni are well represented. [Reproduction and short bibliography in J. C. Hoppin's *Handbook of Attic red-figured vases* (Camb., Harvard Univ. Press, 1919), vol. i, pp. 110 ff.], with which may be compared similar scenes elsewhere, e.g., taf. 7, 43, etc., in O. Benndorf's *Griechische und Sicilische Vasenbilder* (Berl. u. Leipzig, 1869-), and on an amphora in Florence (O. Benndorf, *Wiener Vorgeblätter zu archäologischen Übungen*, 1888, Wien, 1889), taf. 3. Cf. also A. L. Millin de Grandmaison, *Peintures de vases antiques* (2 vols., Paris, 1808-10), pl. LXV; J. B. Passeri, *Picturae Etruscorum* (3 vols., Roma, 1767-75), ii, p. 35, tab. CXXXXXVI and CXXXXXVIII; A. Furtwaengler and C. Reichold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* (München, 1900-), series I, pp. 233 ff., taf. 44-48, series II, p. 106, taf. 80^a and pp. 289 ff., taf. 115, etc.; the Duris psycter (E. 768) in the British Museum showing Seileni revelling with which compare that in *Arch. Zeit.*, 1885, p. 179, pl. 10. A good example of a statuette is that of a dwarf found in an ancient burial place. (See *C. R. de la Commission impériale archéologique pour l'année 1873* (St. Petersburg, 1873), p. 38, *Atlas II*, nr. 6.)

Vases in the British Museum (London, 1896-, III, 85, pl. III.) Cf. this with the Seilenus on the small peilikè (E. 387) in the same collection (*Catalogue*, etc., III, p. 249, pl. XIX).

(2) Red-figured amphora in the British Museum. (E. 256). Shows three athletes engaged in exercise. The central figure gives us an excellent example. (Cf. E. N. Gardiner, *Greek athletic sports and festivals* (London, 1910), p. 348 and *Catal.*, etc., III. 193.) Similar cases can be seen on another amphora in Munich (Gardiner, etc., p. 353) and on the Panathenaic amphora, B. 134 in the British Museum (*ib.*, p. 360).

(3) A vase in the Louvre in Paris. Represents a couple of actors, one of whom carries a cage. Both have large phalli, the one without the cage having the prepuce made to appear as if drawn forward in a remarkable manner. (See *Arch. Zeit.*, 1885, p. 49, taf. 5. Cf. C. Famin, *op. cit.*, pls XIV and XIX.)

(4) A statue of Hercules (P. Arndt and W. Amelung, *Photographische Einzelaufnahmen* (München, 1893-), nr. 346) in which the prepuce appears to have been forced over the glans, a feature with which may be compared the bronze figure of an athlete in the British Museum (H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes* . . . (London, 1899), nr. 212.) Cf. also another bronze figure in Rome in which the pointed character of the membrum is well shown. (*Antike Denkmäler* (Berlin, 1887-), I, nr. 5.) Another excellent example, although somewhat older in point of date is seen on a Greek grave stele now in Boston. (See *Amer. J. of Archaeology*, 1911, XV, 294.)

(5) Red-figured Etruscan oinochoè in the Athenian style (F. 100) in the British Museum (*Catalogue*, etc., IV, 58). A satyr with a large phallus is approaching another satyr who is in the act of copulating with a Maenad. In the case of the former figure the phallus is erect or partially so, but the prepuce appears to be drawn tightly over the glans (whose union with the body of the penis is shown) and lengthens out into a bag-like prominence suggestive of ligature at its end. Cf. F. 40 and F. 211, etc.

It is quite possible that in a few cases, especially in those examples in which obscene scenes are represented, the pointed character of the male organ is an intentional feature. In modern obscene drawings the same thing is sometimes noticeable and Rowlandson is said to have affected tapering phalli to a remarkable extent (P. Fraxi, *Index librorum absconditorum* (London, 1879), p. 348), and a membrum in this condition is believed by some medico-legal authorities to be a sign of active pederasty,¹ whilst it is interesting to note that Nerciati in his obscene romance "*Les Aphrodites*" speaks of the membrum of a pederast as "si peu, si peu de diamètre."²

We have seen above that some evidence exists that the Greeks considered a short prepuce to be in the nature of a deformity, although it is not at all certain how far a sense of shame or modesty was centred in the glans. The next point to be considered is whether such feelings can be detected to-day amongst the modern coloured races, and what means, if any, are taken by them to safeguard the demands that such modesty makes upon them. In the former part of this work³ it was remarked how Veslingius comments upon the length of the foreskin amongst the Arabians⁴ and Egyptians, and the same thing is true of many of the Central African tribes as Sir Harry Johnston has shown (*British Central Africa*,

¹ A. Tardieu, *Etude médicale sur les attentats aux mœurs* (6^e éd., Paris, 1873), pp. 241, 263, 266, 268.

² Andrea de Nerciati, *Les Aphrodites, ou fragments thali-priapiques pour servir à l'histoire du plaisir: réimpression* (4 vols., 1793-1864), viii, p. 15. Cf. M. Hirschfeld, *Die Homosexualität* (2^e Aufl., Berlin, 1920, p. 126.)

³ See p. 49.

⁴ According to Reclus the Arabs say that sometimes their children are born without prepuces, and in these cases they are called Sons of the Moon because they think this anomaly is brought about through the influence of that body. (See E. Reclus, *La circoncision*, etc., Rev. Intern. de Sci. Paris, 1879, iii, p. 203. Cf. J. de Thévenot, *Travels into the Levant* (3 pts., London, 1637), p. 42

(London, 1897), p. 399), and which had previously been noticed in the case of the Bushmen.¹

Among the Fuegians also an elongated foreskin is by no means uncommon,² and Pauw has affirmed the same thing with regard to the inhabitants of S. Persia and Abyssinia.³ It is of course a matter of common knowledge that the majority of European boys are born with a long prepuce, which in many cases causes a painful phimosis, which, as Kubary⁴ points out in regard to Polynesia, probably has a direct relation to the practice of circumcision. With regard to the covering of the glans penis amongst the modern coloured races, a good many examples have been noticed by travellers and anthropologists especially amongst the islands of Polynesia. Thus Moseley,⁵ who accompanied the Challenger Expedition in the position of naturalist, gives some interesting data as to a custom carried on by the natives of the Admiralty Islands. According to this authority when the natives do not wear the customary piece of bark cloth they "wear a shell (ovulum ovum) on the penis. The shell has its inner whorls cut out, but not so as to widen the mouth very much, if at all; and a very sharp edge is left at the cut surface, and it is extraordinary that it can be worn without inconvenience.

The shell is so worn that its narrow mouth flattens and nips the penis, just behind the glans, but it is not

¹ G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas* (Breslau, 1872), p. 406. For the curious shape of the penis among the Bushmen see F. Seiner, *Beobachtungen und Messungen an Buschleute*, *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, 1912, xliv, 275-288.

² P. Hyades and J. Deniker, *Mission scientifique du Cap Horn* (Paris, 1871), vii, 153.

³ C. de Pauw, *Op. cit.*, ii, 119.

⁴ J. S. Kubary, *Ethnographische Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Karolinen Archipels* (Leiden, 1889), p. 89.

⁵ H. N. Moseley, *On the inhabitants of the Admiralty Islands*, *Jour. of the Anthropol. Inst.*, 1877, vi, 379-429. Cf. also J. J. H. de Labillardière, *An account of a voyage in search of La Pérouse in the years 1791-1793*. Trans. from the French (London, 1800), i, pp. 279 ff.

always in such a position. I saw one man alongside the ship who had the shell on in such a way that the prepuce was nipped over the middle of the glans, and the glans flattened out to an astonishing degree. Another with a penis of unusual size, had the shell embracing the end of the prepuce only, which was drawn tight forwards over the glans. The shell was very seldom worn underneath the cloth. When the cloth was put on, the shell was carried in a small bag hung round the neck." Moseley then proceeds to discuss the meaning of these customs, but does not come to any very definite conclusions. He reviews Gerland's¹ ideas as to the sacred character of the glans penis, but is inclined with Andree² to reject this solution, especially in view of Gerland's theories as to the origin of circumcision. He goes on to say that whatever the origin of the custom may have been, it seems very probable that the idea of circumcision may have arisen from it. It would seem possible that unintentional circumcision may have come about by a swelling of the penis when confined in the narrow sharp-sided slit of the shell, or that the prepuce having become swollen, and being tightly nipped by the shell, the shell may have had to be cut off by a division of the prepuce, and beneficial effects having followed, circumcision may have generally been adopted. It is just possible, Moseley thinks, that the gourd or shell may have been adopted to check a display in public of sexual impulses amongst a people otherwise unclothed. He recognizes that on account of the pain involved erection must be impossible when the shell is in position, and hence he thinks that in communities where women were not actually common property, a display of every impulse would lead to unlimited fighting, and hence these mechanical methods for restraining such instincts were adopted. This, according to Moseley,

¹ In T. Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker* (6 vols., Leipzig, 1859-72), vi, 560 ff., etc.

² R. Andree, *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche*. Neue Folge (Leipzig, 1889), p. 209 ff.

may have been the cause of the origin of the sense of shame at being uncovered. Andree, as has been already said, while rejecting the older theories, does not fully concur with those offered by Moseley, whilst Reclus¹ is inclined to reject them entirely. He says that a similar custom is observable in Australia, where a young man, having just been circumcised, receives from an old woman the present of a shell for this purpose. Shells represent the feminine element, and as such are singularly appropriate, since by presenting a shell, the symbol of the vulva, to be worn by a man upon the penis, fruitfulness and general fertility are immediately suggested.

An interesting point adduced by Reclus is that in Hamburg some of the prostitutes used to hang out a sign which in this case was in the shape of a shell (*Cassia rufa*).²

During his travels in the South Seas, Parkinson noticed the same custom when in the Admiralty Islands, and he says that in many cases the white surface of the shell employed is scratched or incised into various patterns by way of ornament. Similarly on St. Matthias Island, north-west of New Hanover, some of the natives wear a *Cypræa ovula* over the glans, whilst on the Kerué group, seventeen miles south-east of St. Matthias, the men frequently wear a small gourd with a hole bored in its end. The glans is always covered in this manner when in battle or during a dance, and Moseley's statement that when the shell is not in use it is worn round

¹ E. Reclus, *Op. cit.*, pp. 197-198.

² He is quoting from Oken. See L. Oken, *Allgemeine Naturgeschichte* (7 vols., Stuttgart, 1839-41-37), v, p. 482, "Die Dirnen der niederdeutschen Seestädte stellen sie vor die Fenster als Aushängschild ihres Gewerbes." The shell has often been considered a symbol of the *puerum muliebrem*. Cf. Plautus, *Rud.* III, 3. 42 (Ed. F. Ritscheli, 4 vols., Lipsiae, 1871-94, iii, p. 64).

"Te ex concha natam esse autumant: cave tu harum conchas spernas." Cf. Dr. Aigremont, *Muschel und Schnecke als Symbole de vulva* . . . (Anthropophyteia, 1909, vi, 35-50) and the remarks of Mlada A. Gospoja, in vol. viii, p. 289.

the neck in a bag is confirmed by Parkinson's own observations.¹

In New Guinea the custom has long been known. Thus Andree noted the fact that in the neighbourhood of Humboldt Bay on the north coast of Dutch New Guinea, some of the natives were accustomed to encase the glans within a small gourd,² and Comrie notes the same fact, saying that the gourd is the sole article of clothing worn, a small hole being bored in the gourd in which to force the end of the penis.³ In the report of the South-West New Guinea Expedition issued by the Dutch Geographical Society will be found a detailed account of the different varieties of these penis-sheathes.⁴ Some consist, as has been said, of shells or gourds, sometimes chased with geometrical designs (cf. Pl. I), and others are made merely of a short length of hollow bamboo into which the membrum is inserted. Another interesting custom is also touched upon, which seeing that it has been brought forward by both Stieda⁵ and Hovorka⁶ in connection with infibulation may be briefly touched upon in this place. On a grave of Etruscan origin at Chiusi discovered in 1846 is depicted a scene in which two boxers are engaged in fighting. In both cases the penis is drawn upward by a cord or thread which is passed round the body, the end of the prepuce being gripped between the band and the surface

¹ R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee* (Stuttgart, 1907), pp. 321, 336, 368, etc.

² R. Andree, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

³ P. Comrie, *Anthropological Notes on New Guinea*, *Journ. of the Anthropol. Inst.*, 1877, vi, 102-119.

⁴ *De Zuidwest Nieuw-Guinea Expeditie 1904-5 van het Kon. Ned. Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* (Leiden, 1908), pp. 608-611.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 267.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 138. Both these authors give reproductions of the scene as does also T. Schreiber in his *Atlas of Classical Antiquities* (London, 1895), pl. XXII, 6. Cf. E. Braun in *Annali dell' Instituto di Corr. Arch.*, 1850, xxii, 280, 285, and *Mon. Ineed.* 1849, v, 251-260 (fig. 3).

of the belly. A very similar figure, but in this case a bronze statuette, is in the British Museum. It is an Etruscan piece of work of about the fifth or fourth



FIG. 3.

centuries B.C. and is $3\frac{5}{8}$ in. in height. Mr. Walters thinks it may be a boxer and he describes it as having an "infibulated phallos,"¹ whereas I suggest that it is

¹ H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes, etc.*, nr. 526, p. 72.

simply an example of the practice of drawing up the penis as seen on the grave at Chiusi, and has therefore nothing whatever to do with infibulation. In New Guinea very similar customs prevail, although whether the same purposes are apparent in each it is at present impossible to decide. In the modern instance the penis is drawn up and under the belt, and in one case mentioned in the Dutch report the prepuce has been pulled out to double its normal length (p. 614, fig. 143). This extension and stretching out of the foreskin is likened in the report to a sort of anti-circumcision, although it seems to me more probable that in both the case of the Etruscan boxers as in the modern New Guinea natives, the practice is really in the nature of a protective measure and has little moral or religious significance.¹ The meaning of these penis-coverings has also been noticed by other observers. For example Giglioli speaks of the curious devices in use in south and south-west New Guinea, in the delta of the Purari and elsewhere. A triangular or oval plate of that white or yellowish shell known as *Cymbium melo* is employed. It varies in size from a maximum of 20 to 10 cm. In the district of Nantau the shells are chased with various rude designs, and similar coverings are found amongst the robber tribe of the Tugeri, who live west of the Bensbach river on the south coast of Dutch New Guinea.² Wollaston

¹ Amongst the Bakäiri, a Brazilian tribe, an almost exactly similar custom prevails. Steinen says that the practice is first urged upon the youth when erection begins (C. von Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens* (Berlin, 1894), p. 192), and Schmidt agrees, thinking that doubtless the custom is observed by the men in order to make erections less noticeable (Max Schmidt, *Reisen in Matto Grosso im Jahre 1910*, *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, 1912, xliv, 130-174). Cf. also O. Stoll, *op. cit.*, p. 495; R. Pösch, *Reisen in Neu-Guinea in den Jahren 1904-1906*, *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, 1907, xxxix, p. 391; A. Gerson, *Die Scham* (Bonn, 1919), p. 25, etc.

² E. H. Giglioli, *Lo scudo pubico e l'astuccio penico degli indigeni del sud e sud-ovest della Nuova Guinea*, *Arch. per l'Antrop.*, Firenze, 1904, xxxiv, 137. Cf. also R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea* (3 vols., Berlin, 1911), vol. i, p. 196; F. S. A. de

during his observations of the New Guinea natives also remarks upon the bamboo penis-cases which are sometimes worn. The prepuce, he writes, is pulled through a hole in its lower end, and in this way the tube is held firmly in position. Various patterns, sometimes carved, are employed as is also what he describes as "an oval or roughly squared segment of a large white sea-shell sometimes as big as six inches in diameter."¹ This is worn on a string passing through a couple of holes bored in it, and tied tightly round the loins. The convex surface of the shell faces forwards, and the prepuce is pulled upwards and clipped under the lower margin of the shell. He points out in connection with these devices that they are useful as protective shields against the leeches and thorns of the jungle. In the case of the Tapiro or New Guinea pygmy, the sheath is often made of a long yellow gourd, about two inches in diameter at the base and tapering off at the pointed end to about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. The pointed part is worn upwards and is kept in position by a cord round the waist, in some cases these attachments attaining a length of over fifteen inches. The Tapiro is very modest, according to Wollaston, and will not suffer exposure, and Haddon notes the fact that these gourds are also worn on the north coast but not further than Cape Bonpland, the hole being in these parts at the side and not at the end as in the Tapiro.²

In the Pelew Islands shame at an exposure of the glans has apparently been noticed,³ although Keate, writing at an earlier period makes no mention of any

Clercq, *Ethnographische beschrijving van de West-en Noord-kus. van Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea . . . met medewerking van J. Dt Schmeltz* (Leiden, 1893), p. 202, pl. XI, figs. 6-9.

¹ A. F. R. Wollaston, *Pygmies and Papuans* (London, 1912), pp. 113 ff.

² Wollaston, *op. cit.*, pp. 198, 316. Cf. O. Reche, *Der Kaiserin-Augusta-Fluss* (Hamburg, 1913), p. 76, figs. 17, 18.

³ *Verh. d. Berl. Gesell. F. Anthropol., Ethnol., u. Urges.*, Jahr. 1878, p. 113.

such covering as that in use in New Guinea, saying that the men "go entirely naked."¹

Among the Philippine islanders an almost precisely opposite state of affairs appears to be prevalent among the Tagals, although it is not at all clear how far the custom is common amongst them. Barney, in his curious little pamphlet says that circumcision is very general, approximating to about 70 to 80 per cent. of the male population. Being uncircumcised is regarded as a sort of defect, he says, "so much so that children of both sexes cruelly taunt those who have reached the age of puberty and are still uncircumcised. They apply to them, with intent to insult, the term '*suput*,' which originally meant 'constricted' or 'tight,' but has come to mean 'one who cannot easily gain entrance in sexual intercourse.'"² According to this author the reason for the general adoption of circumcision is not from motives of hygiene or religion but simply from fear of being ridiculed if it is not done, a view which is not shared by other investigators. Thus Sawyer declares that "the Tagals practise circumcision as a hygienic measure, and not as a religious custom," but he approaches nearer to Barney's opinion when he states that from what he has heard "the custom is really maintained by the women, who refuse their favours to the uncircumcised of their own nation."³

This interesting theory, coupled with what we have learnt from the previous author, might if supported by weightier authorities⁴ lend appreciable colour to the

¹ G. Keate, *An Account of the Pelew Islands* (5th ed., London, 1803), p. 213.

² C. N. Barney, *Circumcision and Flagellation Among the Filipinos* (Carlisle, Pa., 1903), p. 4.

³ F. H. Sawyer, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines* (London, 1900), p. 217.

⁴ I have tried in vain to discover any really confirmatory evidence of Barney's statements. Little however appears to have been recorded. Cf. F. Blumentritt., *Versuch einer Ethnographie der Philippinen* (Ergänzungsheft No. 67 zu Petermann's *Mittheilungen*, Gotha, 1882; R. Andree, *op. cit.*, p. 193, and for circumcision in

supposition hazarded by anthropologists that close connection exists between circumcision and phimosis, the latter condition interfering as it does with the due performance of the sexual act. If phimosis was common among the Tagals, it would naturally be resented by the women, and it will be remembered, that if Barney is to be trusted, the term "*suput*" (constricted, tight) which now means "one who finds difficulty in coitus," is applied to the men who remain uncircumcised. In the Philippines therefore an exposed glans penis is rather a mark of honour than of degradation, an idea totally opposed to that common in the New Hebrides, concerning which Bennett has left us an interesting account.¹ In 1829 and 1830 he visited the islands of Erromanga and Tanna, and noticed that in the former "the glans penis, and about two inches below, is tied round with long strips of plantain leaf; over these others are again placed" and these are occasionally extended to a distance of many inches, sometimes reaching as far as the ankles.

In Tanna² the penis is bound round half its length with leaves or pieces of cloth and then covered by a small mat

the Dutch East Indies see G. A. Wilken, *De besnijdenis bij de volken van den Ind-Archipel*, Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned-Indië, 1885, 4, x, 165-206. Cf. also H. Ploss, *Geschichtliches und Ethnologisches über Knabenbeschneidung*, *Deut. Archiv. f. Gesch. d. Med.*, 1885, viii, 312-344.

¹ G. Bennett, *An account of a mode of tying up and encasing the penis*, *London Med. Gaz.*, 1831, viii, 229-232. Cf. Dr. Jacobus X . . ., *L'amour aux colonies* (Paris, 1893), p. 321.

² Slitting of the prepuce has also been noticed here. See H. Ploss, *Geschichtliches*, etc., p. 337; B. T. Somerville, *Jour. Anthropol. Instit.*, 1894, 368, who connects the covering with the belief in the magic called *narak*, and for similar customs in the Marquesas and Gambier Islands cf. A. J. von Krusenstern, *Voyage round the World, in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806* (2 vols., London, 1813), i, 156; U. Lisiansky, *A Voyage round the World in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806* (London, 1814), p. 86; F. W. Beechey, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific* (2 pts., London, 1831) ii, 108; J. E. Erskine, *Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific* (London, 1853), p. 306; W. H. R. Rivers, *The History of Melanesian Society* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1914), ii, pp. 432 seq., etc.

made either of bark or pandanus leaves. These mats are from 17 to 24 in. long and 6 to 8 in. broad and are called opitau, arapu or tapono, being secured round the waist by a cord made of hair. Bennett notes the fact that a very similar custom prevailed in Kalembe, Delagoa Bay, in S.E. Africa, and gives a description which had been supplied to him by a Lieut. Brand of H.M. Sloop "Cygnet," who visited the locality in December, 1822. In this the penis is surrounded by a long tube made of grass, from 8 to 12 in. long. The organ is first of all tightly bandaged with grass cloth or strips of cotton cloth, the end of which is put into the tube and drawn close up, being secured to the upper part of the tube, leaving an end hanging down. A cord of grass or hide is then passed round the waist to keep the tube upright.

In New Zealand amongst the Maoris, Cook remarks that they were accustomed to tie up the prepuce in order to make it cover the glans,¹ a custom also noted by Mantegazza in his interesting work on sexual practices.² According to Tregear, circumcision among the Maoris was confined to a very limited number of persons, the descendants of Tamatea Urehaea, living near Cape Palliser.

Generally speaking, he says, even the appearance of circumcision (*tehe*) was regarded with contempt,³ whilst in the Maori-Polynesian glossary, compiled by the same author, *tehe* has three distinct meanings. These are :—

(1) The male organ when the glans penis is left uncovered by the prepuce, in some persons resembling the effect of circumcision. Allusion is made to it by the natives in a spirit of jesting reproach.

(2) Men so formed.

¹ J. Cook, *A Journey of a Voyage Round the World . . . in the Years 1768-1771* (London, 1771), p. 106, quoted by E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (London, 1901), p. 205.

² P. Mantegazza, *op. cit.*, i, p. 166.

³ E. Tregear, *The Maori Race* (Wanganui, N.Z., 1904), p. 141.

(3) Semen.¹

In Samoa also and the surrounding districts a kind of circumcision or rather incision is practised which is called *tefe* (*tēfi*, *tēfi*, *tetēfi* to cut, circumcise) which seems to have no connection with religion and is accompanied by no rites or ceremonies.²

An interesting sidelight is thrown upon the customs and ideas we have been discussing by a consideration of some Japanese notions upon the point at issue. According to Buntaro Adachi³ the Japanese look with surprise at the condition of the European membrum, calling it *kawakamuri* (covered), because in Japanese men the glans usually remains quite uncovered by the prepuce.⁴ To have a long prepuce is considered shameful in Japan when a man is full-grown, but in boys the penis is *kawakamuri*. This supposed anomaly in Europeans was noticed in the case of the Dutch by Atsutane Hiratia, who, as also did Kodayu, remarked upon the same condition amongst the Russians. An interesting investigation was recently undertaken by Dr. Nagasawa who recorded that out of 485 Japanese soldiers only 4 had the glans fully covered (phimosis), whilst of the remainder 137 had it partly covered and 344 had the prepuce drawn fully back and the glans entirely exposed. This practice of pushing the foreskin back is often intentionally done, according to Adachi, who thinks that the origin is to be sought either in an endeavour to pre-

¹ E. Tregear, *The Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary* (Wellington, N.Z., 1891), p. 502.

² See G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians* (London, 1910), p. 382; W. Churchill, *The Polynesian Wanderings* (Washington, 1911), p. 265; A. Krämer, *Die Samoa-Inseln* (2 vols., Stuttgart, 1902 [1901]-03), ii, pp. 61 ff.

³ B. Adachi, *Ueber den Penis der Japaner*, *Zeitschr. f. Morphol. u. Anthropol.*, 1903, v, 351-356. Cf. also *Chugai Iji Shinpo*, Tokio, 1899, xx, 253-260. I am indebted to the late Dr. W. H. R. Rivers for drawing my attention to these articles.

⁴ Similarly a short prepuce which barely covers the glans has been noticed in Cochin-China. Cf. Dr. Jacobus X. . . . (*op. cit.*), p. 11.

vent phimosis or in an attempt to cause a sort of artificial circumcision. The latter form is known in various modified forms throughout Japan, but the short prepuce, which is also shared by the Ainos, makes the operation not so common as it otherwise might have been.

With regard to this custom of pushing back the prepuce over the glans, Adachi records a practice which is of the greatest interest to us. Japanese wrestlers, he says, are often accustomed to pull the prepuce as far over the glans as possible, then twisting the end they cover the whole with the scrotum which is presumably tied up in some way in order to serve the purpose. This is done because a superstition is current amongst them that if the glans is uncovered bodily strength evaporates through that organ.

This statement concerning the superstition prevalent among Japanese wrestlers is exceptionally interesting, since we know that *ligatura præputii* was used by ancient Greek athletes, but I have not succeeded in tracing any similar superstition amongst frequenters of the gymnasium as recorded by classical writers, nor am I aware that anything of the kind has been noted among the inhabitants of modern Greece. It has long been known that the spiritual activities are often popularly supposed to be hampered by rings and knots. Sir J. G. Frazer, quoting from an article in *Blackwood's Magazine* of 1886 points out how in the Greek island of Carpathus the people never button up the garments in which a corpse is clothed "for the spirit, they say, can even be detained in the little finger, and cannot rest." Similarly rings may prevent the ingress of demons and evil spirits, examples of which are cited by Sir J. G. Frazer in the above place. But up to the present few examples of ligaturing the prepuce have been recorded in connections which could assist us in a solution of the Greek custom.² In India certain tribes

¹ Sir J. G. Frazer, *Op. cit.*, "Taboo," p. 314.

² In ancient and modern times *ligatura præputii* has been employed as a popular remedy for enuresis, often with disastrous

apparently believe that by wearing a ring through which the prepuce is pulled the claims of modesty are satisfied. Thus amongst the Tankhuls and others of the Nāga tribes dwelling east and north-east of the Manipur valley, the ring is made of bone, bamboo or occasionally of cane ribbon, being an eighth to a quarter of an inch wide. It is assumed at puberty and at first causes a good deal of pain, but on account of the great pressure the membrum soon adapts itself to the new shape. For the purposes of micturition the ring is removed as also at night, when their wives wear it on their fingers. The claims of modesty are the only reasons actually assigned for this custom, but in addition it has been noted that some of the natives say that at one time they used to fight over women so fiercely that the ring was adopted as a means for curbing their passions, and Dr. Brown is of opinion that it may have been adopted for some such purpose as this, since the prevention of erection is apparently aimed at, a mere exposure of the person unless so attended being considered not a matter of which to be ashamed. When wearing the ring they may be seen working on the roads and in the women's bazaars with perfect equanimity, the attachment being thought to fulfil all possible requirements of propriety. The custom is persisted in even in those who have left the hills for the valley, and usually it is kept up till the time of death. Dr. Brown has offered the suggestion that the practice "may have something to do with the custom by which parents are obliged to surrender their house and two-thirds of their property to their eldest son when he marries, and that it may have been introduced by some parent anxious to put off the evil day of his own turning out by thus placing a check on

results. See e.g. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxvii, 17; L. de Victorii, *Practica medicinalis* (Lugduni, 1574), p. 593; J. L. Petit, *Traité des maladies chirurgicales* (3 vols., Paris, 1724), ii, p. 426; J. M. Cleveland, *Note on a case where a piece of string tied round the penis caused strangulation and gangrene*, *Lancet*, May 30, 1908, p. 1550; H. A. Fowler in *Modern Urology*, ed. H. Cabot (Philad. and New York, 1918), pp. 221, 229, etc.

the amatory propensities of his offspring." This surmise is perhaps more ingenious than probable, but until more evidence is available the question cannot be decided definitely one way or the other.¹ The Nāgas of Assam, according to McCosh, go naked with the exception of having a fold of the prepuce drawn through a small ivory ring, considering it indecorous to appear in female society without it.² These rings he says are sold in the bazars of Manipur, and Damant supplements this information by saying that they are sometimes made of deer's horns or dark-wood,³ whilst Fytche states that the Nāga men wear an *annulum a quarta ad octavam partem unciae latum et ex cornu cervi vel ebore factum, glandem penis arcte comprimentem*.⁴ In South Africa the practice of covering the glans penis has long been known. Thus Fritsch speaks of the small cases which are sometimes worn. The opening provided is somewhat narrowed and the covering is usually made "out of a small round pepo whose shell is neatly cut and marked," or sometimes it is made in leather or other

¹ See Dr. R. Brown, *Annual Report of the Manipore Political Agency for 1868-69*. Selections from the Records of the Govt. of India, Foreign Dept. No. LXXVIII (Calcutta, 1870), pp. 119 ff; T. C. Hodson, *The Nāga Tribes of Manipur* (London, 1911), p. 22; Appendix I, p. 199. The idea of a single article of clothing being sufficient to meet modesty's demands is well illustrated by the boys of modern Thebes, whose sole garment is a fine thread tied round their bodies, it being considered the height of indecency to omit this cord, no one daring to show himself without it. See H. T. J. Stacquez, *L'Egypte, la basse Nubie et le Sinaï* (Liège, 1865), pp. 252-253, quoted by J. Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, Tr. by A. S. Griffith (London, 1905), pp. 52-3, and cf. the same idea among certain Congo women (J. H. Harris, *Dawn in Darkest Africa* (London, 1912), p. 32).

² J. McCosh, *Advice to Officers in India* (London, 1856), p. 200. Cf. also E. Reclus, *Op. cit.*, p. 225.

³ G. W. Damant, *Indian Antiquary*, 1879, viii, 206; and see Jagor in *Verh. d. Berl. Gesell. f. Anthropol. Eth. u. Urges.*, 1885, p. 574, who mentions these passages.

⁴ A. Fytche, *Burma Past and Present* (2 vols., London, 1878), i, p. 350.

material. Glass beads and tassels occasionally are employed in order to adorn it, and when at home it is often taken off and laid aside.¹ The same thing has been noticed by Haan amongst the natives of Lourenço Marques, and, writing for the Paris Anthropological Society, he says that a small ovo-conical cover is worn which conceals the glans only and is some way fastened on to the corona. Among those natives who have come into contact with Europeans the case is often called a "cock-box," and Haan thinks that originally it may have been employed for purely ornamental purposes.² Among the Moundans, a tribe dwelling in the basin of the Mayo-Kabi and Mayo-Sina, near Lake Tchad, a penis-sheath is worn made of twisted straw, which Brussaax believes to be for the purposes not only of modesty but also in order to preserve the wearer from the attacks of noxious insects.³ In Angoniland (British Central Africa) most of the natives, according to Sir Harry Johnston adopt the Zulu fashion of "covering the glans penis with a small wooden case or the outer shell of a fruit."⁴ Amongst the Kaffir and Hottentot tribes of South Africa, Le Vaillant had in the eighteenth century noticed the curious practice of tying up the prepuce when crossing rivers. "This is performed" he says, "with a thread of gut and they do it before daughters without any scruple."

When Le Vaillant inquired as to the reason of the custom, he was told that it was "to close an opening by which the water might enter their bodies."⁵ Amongst

¹ G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas* (Breslau, 1872), p. 58.

² P. Haan, *Vêtement ou parure du gland chez les indigènes du sud-Africain*, *Bull. Soc. d'Anthrop. de Paris*, 1897, 4e Série, VIII, 397.

³ M. Brussaax, *Notes sur les Moundans*, *Bull. Soc. de Anthrop. d Paris*, 1907, 5e Série, VIII, 273-295.

⁴ Sir H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa* (London, 1897), p. 419.

⁵ F. Le Vaillant, *New Travels into the Interior Parts of Africa* (3 vols., London, 1796), ii, p. 362.

the native workers in the South African mines, Joest had noticed that during the examination held on the gold-fields, the circumcised natives took care to hide the glans, whereas the uncircumcised were not so particular.¹ In the Kamerun territory Passarge remarks that the natives of Mattafall wear a penis-sheath of twisted grass,² and Frobenius notices similar coverings in the same districts.³ In this connection and also with reference to what Le Vaillant says as to tying up the prepuce while crossing rivers, it is of interest to note that certain modern writers have suggested a strange and novel origin for these penis-sheaths. It had long been noticed that in Egyptian drawings and occasionally in statuettes the membrum was sometimes encased in a long tube or sheath, the end being seemingly tied up into a tight knot.⁴ This occasioned but little interest until more attention began to be paid to the phenomena underlying infection in bilharziosis.⁵ Pfister, in an interesting article⁶ on the penis-sheath as used in ancient Egypt, notes how Naville records several small Egyptian statuettes of the archaic period which illustrate the

¹ Joest in *Verh. d. Berl. Gesell. f. Anthropol., Ethnol. u. Urges.*, 1885, p. 478. Cf. also p. 573 for mention of the penis-case or n'utsche which is sometimes worn, and cf. S. Kay, *Travels and Researches in Caffraria* (London, 1833), p. 111.

² S. Passarge, *Adamaua* (Berlin, 1895), p. 173.

³ L. Frobenius, *Die Masken und Geheimbünde Afrikas* (Halle, 1898), p. 74.

⁴ Cf. F. von Luschau in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, 1900, xxxii, 505.

⁵ A pathological condition affecting the urinary and other organs produced by the presence of a distinct parasite, the *Schistosoma hæmatobium*. The worm is endemic in Egypt and also in a more limited degree in South Africa, infection being induced through water polluted by the presence of the parasite. For a short bibliography see F. C. Madden, *The Surgery of Egypt* (Cairo, 1919), p. 324.

⁶ E. Pfister, *Die allegyptischen Penis-futterale*, *Deut. Gesell. f. Urol.* III, Kong. in Wien., September 11-13, 1911, 457-63. I take the opportunity of thanking my friend, Dr. L. T. Hogben, for drawing my attention to this article, and also Prof. Leiper for obtaining the reference for me.

long sheath as it was then worn (E. Naville, *Figurines égyptiennes de l'époque archaïque. Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, 1900, N.S. VI, 65-71) and goes on to say that as the god Bes wears such a covering and was a deity presiding especially over hygiene, the measure might well have been adopted for reasons of health. The sheath itself, which is called karnata, is of various shapes, several examples being shown by both Pfister and Naville. Blanchard, in dealing with the same practice of wearing penis-sheaths, says that the apparatus as worn by the Rhodesian Zulu is actually a safeguard against Bilharziosis, also stating that the similar sheathes as worn by certain of the South American natives are for the purpose of warding off the attacks of the candiru, a "petit poisson des eaux douces du Brésil, qui a la réputation évidemment peu fondée de s'introduire dans l'urèthre des baigneurs le long des cours d'eau qu'il habite, les indigènes et souvent les individus de race blanche se gardent d'entrer dans l'eau sans avoir apposé sur le prépuce une ligature protectrice ou sans s'être coiffé la verge d'un préservatif en sparterie."¹ How far it is true to say that these penis-sheaths are worn with the intention of avoiding the bilharzial parasite I am not prepared to say, but it seems rather an improbable theory, especially when it is carried to the point of asserting, as Mr. J. F. Allen does, that "it is extremely likely" that the Egyptians knew of this parasite, circumcised themselves to avoid it and the custom was thus borrowed by the Jews.²

Resuming our survey of those parts of the world

¹ R. Blanchard, *Candiru et Bilharzie*, *Arch. de Parasit.*, 1903, viii, 153. Cf. also A. Laveran and R. Blanchard, *Les Hématozoaires de l'homme et des animaux* (2 pts., Paris, 1895), pt. 2, p. 67. The candiru (*Vandellia cirrhosa*, *Cetopsis*) appears from the specimen in the British Museum to be about three inches long, and broad in proportion.

² See J. F. Allen, *Bilharzia hæmatobia and Circumcision*, *Lancet*, May 8, 1909, pp. 1317-1320, and *Bilharziosis and how to prevent it*, *Lancet*, August 6, 1910, pp. 375-376.

where the penis-sheath has been noticed, it may be of interest to recall a description of a similar contrivance on the Isthmus of Darien, published late in the nineteenth century. "The men go ordinarily quite naked," we read, "and have only a small vessel of Gold or Silver, or Plantain Leaf, of a Conick Figure wherewith they cover the Penis,"¹ an account which reminds one of the *theca* in Roman infibulation. In Brazilian tribes, as mentioned by Blanchard, the custom is well known. Many methods are employed, but all, according to Steinen, aim at covering the glans either by lengthening the prepuce or by tying it up. In many cases, as in New Guinea, the girdle serves the purpose of lengthening the prepuce. The penis is drawn upwards against the body and so secured beneath the girdle that the extreme end of the prepuce remains gripped, this practice being urged upon the youth when the first erection takes place.² The Trumai, among whom sub-incision is also practised, have a peculiar method which has also been noticed in other Brazilian tribes. They tie the prepuce over the glans with a red coloured thread, the end of the penis on account of this ligature looking like the end of a sausage.³ Similarly Krause⁴ in writing of the Karajá tribe, says that the sexual parts are only visible amongst the men. The prepuce is wound round over the glans with thread into a kind of roll, so that the penis lies behind shortened and ball-like. The genitals thus appear like three balls close together, the illustrations in Krause's work giving an excellent idea of their strange appearance. Amongst the Savajé similar customs prevail, and the Kayapo wear penis-sheaths (*imudje*), which are drawn over the glans, causing in the penis an appearance somewhat re-

¹ *A Short Account from, and Description of the Isthmus of Darien, where the Scots Collony are Settled* (Edinburgh, 1699), p. 10.

² C. von Steinen, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-193.

³ C. von Steinen, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

⁴ F. Krause, *In den Wildnissen Brasiliens* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 184, Taf. 38, 43, 49¹.

sembling that amongst the Trumai. The purpose of these coverings is popularly supposed, according to Krause, to hide the glans from the women, but he hazards the guess that this is after all a secondary emotion, originating possibly simply from a desire to protect a delicate part.¹ Again amongst the Bororo Indians the "principal garment of the men is a penis cuff (*ba*), which is made of a folded palm leaf (coloured with *wiuku*) and on festive occasions covered with down (feathers). At the marriage ceremony the bride carries such a palm leaf unfolded in her hair, to be substituted for the old one whenever it should be necessary."² In speaking of the same tribe Andree says that some wear, instead of the customary rolled cylindrically-formed palm leaf, a wooden ring, whilst others employ as we have already seen a conical-shaped contrivance which Andree says is called *inoba*.³ Koch mentions very similar devices which are employed by the Apiaká-Indians of the Rio Tapajos, Matto Grosso,⁴ and no doubt the custom is widely spread amongst the majority of the wilder Brazilian tribes.

Amongst the Eskimos it has been stated that occasionally they wear a thread bound round the prepuce when bathing, this being done in the presence of women, but the evidence seems too scanty to allow us to draw any decisive conclusions. According to Woldt,⁵ Capt.

¹ F. Krause, *op. cit.*, p. 204. Alsberg says that Steinen was of the opinion that artificial phimosis employed by the Xingu Indians of Central Brazil was to prevent insects attacking the glans and getting underneath the prepuce. See L. Steida, *Ueber die Infibulation bei Griechen u. Römern*, *Verh. d. Gesell. d. Nat. u. Aerzte*, Leipzig, 1901, Th. 2, Heft. 1, p. 287. Cf. O. Stoll, *op. cit.*, p. 494.

² V. Frič and P. Radin, *Contributions to the Study of the Bororo Indians*, *J. of Anthropol. Int.*, 1906, xxxvi, 388-406. The hip-girdle, as noticed by Steinen, was not found by these investigators.

³ R. Andree, *op. cit.*, p. 209, "*Mentulam inserunt in annulum ligneum unde apellantur Porrudos, mentulati.*"

⁴ T. Koch, *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, 1902, xxxiv, p. 351.

⁵ See Jagor in *Verh. d. Bert. Gesell. f. Anthropol. Eth. u. Urges.*, 1885, p. 575.

Jacobsen affirms this to be a fact, but in his book¹ I can find no definite statement as to this custom. He speaks of the men bathing in the presence of the women and also says that the only concession to decency that they make is to wear a small thread the length of a finger in extent, although he does not say where the thread is worn. From what we know of other peoples it is quite possible that Woldt was correct, and that the thread is worn round the prepuce, even though this may not be a general rule.

We have now concluded our brief survey of some of the evidence that has been collected with regard to the covering of the glans penis as practised by different races in various parts of the globe. Generally speaking it is most common in Melanesia, Polynesia, Central and South Africa and Brazil, although as we have seen similar customs are known elsewhere. The solutions that have been proposed to account for this practice are as varied as they are ingenious. It has, as we have seen above, been suggested that the glans is a sacred part of that organ which has always struck terror and wonder in the heart of man. To expose such a portion of this part of the body was therefore to be avoided, and conversely, in those races who despise any formation even bordering on phimosis, the idea would be that covering up a part of so important an organ was a practice fit only for the strongest condemnation. Again springing from the fact that such customs are almost invariably found in tropical or semi-tropical countries, it has been suggested that the device has been adopted as a purely protective measure against external injuries, and has little if any moral or religious significance. Thus Stoll (*op. cit.*, p. 494) agrees with Steinen in thinking that,

¹ J. A. Jacobsen, *Reise an der Nord-westküste Amerikas*, 1881-1883 (Leipzig, 1884), pp. 160-161. Nelson, in his book on the Eskimo of Behring Strait says that the men wear no clothes in the Kashim, and in treating of sweat-bathing says nothing of the practice of tying up the prepuce. (See E. W. Nelson, *The Eskimo about Behring Strait*, Smith Inst. Rept. Bur. of Ethnol., 1896-97, pt. 1, p. 287.)

since no innate feeling of shame attaches to the glans penis,¹ these customs originated simply from the desire to protect a sensitive part from accidents associated with jungle life, such as the briars and thorns of the thick undergrowth, or the bites and stings of insects. It is perfectly true that even if this were the origin of the custom, it might quite easily become connected with feelings of modesty as stated in many cases by the natives themselves.² But at present the information we possess concerning the sexual life of primitive peoples is far too scanty for us to offer any satisfactory solution of the problems centring round the origin of human modesty. The principal task which lies before us is to collect as much data as possible and in the future to impress upon anthropological investigators and explorers the extreme importance of accurate observation on the sexual no less than on the other activities of the aboriginal as he exists to-day. It must however be admitted with regret that it is far from unlikely that we have already lost many aspects of primitive sexuality, which prudery and the influence of religion have prevented early investigators from recording.

Before the above digression on some of the practices of the modern coloured races, the reader may recollect that we had seen from Celsus and other authors that a short prepuce was looked upon as a kind of deformity in antiquity and that a special operation was in use to remedy this defect. It will also be remembered that Stieda

¹ It is more likely that a feeling of shame is associated with the glans than with the navel as in certain of the Malay Peoples. (See K. Weule, *Negerleben in Ostafrika* (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 166 ff.)

² Hirn, after discussing the possible use that might be made of penis-sheaths as sexual-stimulants, inclines more to the view that they have some connection with that feeling of awe concerning the genitals common in primitive peoples, coupled perhaps with ordinary motives of self-protection. See Y. Hirn, *The Origins of Art* (London, 1900), p. 215, and cf. the cases in which beads and tassels adorn the sheaths, and for an excellent review and discussion of the whole question see G. Friederici, *Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse einer amtlichen Forschungsreise nach dem Bismarck-Archipel im Jahre 1908*, II (Berlin, 1912), pp. 152-161.

maintains that the custom of *ligatura praeputii* was one based upon the idea that a short prepuce was a disgrace and that by tying it over the glans this abnormality could be concealed, this view being supported, as we have already remarked, by the passages in Phrynichus and Photius. We shall now proceed to discuss those monuments of antiquity which actually show the *ligatura praeputii* in operation. Whether what we see portrayed upon the vases and elsewhere is the cynodesmion as mentioned by Phrynichus and Photius has so far been almost, if not quite, universally assumed, although I do not know upon what authority. Certainly these ancient authors describe a binding of the prepuce for a certain purpose, but whether the binding one sees upon the vases is the same and is made use of for the same reason is a question which is not easy to solve. It must be remembered that the *literary* reference at present known which treats of cynodesmion is that afforded by Phrynichus who lived in either the second or third century A.D., whilst all or nearly all of the representations in art are probably not earlier than 600 B.C. and not later than 300 B.C. It is possible that Photius, or whoever was the author of his lexicon, borrowed the information about cynodesmion from Phrynichus, and in our present state of knowledge it seems quite impossible to say from what source Phrynichus derives his statement that it was a practice customary among the *Attics*. Before we attempt to enumerate the various solutions proposed and to suggest further explanations, it will perhaps be better if we first of all examine some of the most striking examples of the custom which have come down to us from ancient times. We have already noticed one specimen on the Nikias crater in the British Museum, where a torch runner is seen, the end of his membrum being seemingly tied up, the two ends of the ligature being distinctly visible hanging from it. The next example is from a red-figured amphora in Munich.¹

¹ See O. Jahn, *Beschreibung der Vasen Königs Ludwigs in Pinakothek zu München* (München, 1854), nr. 1185, p. 337.

An upright figure of an athlete is represented, his left hand upon his hip and his head turned so as to be looking towards the left. He is leaning upon a staff, and his penis is tied up with a black band or thread, the two bows of the tie being clearly drawn upon either side. According to Gerhard,¹ who gives an excellent reproduc-

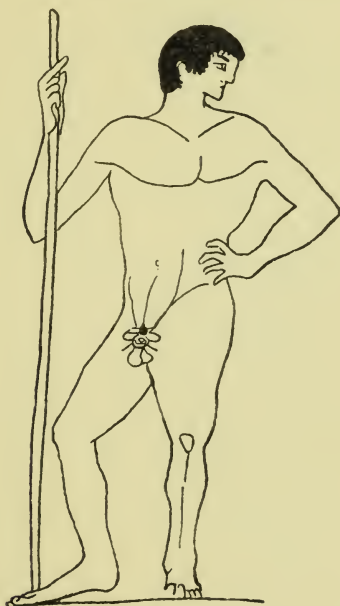


FIG. 4.

tion of the painting, the tie is the *κυνοδέσμη* and he expresses the opinion that it was a sign of sexual continence, although giving no evidence in support of his contention. This example of the ligature is one of the

¹ E. Gerhard, *Auserlesene griechische Vasenbilder* . . . (4 pts., Berlin, 1840-58), Th. IV, pp. 11-12, taf. 244. Reproductions also in Stieda, *op. cit.*, p. 260; Hovorka, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

finest at present known, since in no other specimen are the details of the tie with its bow and ends so completely represented. See fig. 4.

Another beautiful example in which the band is actually being affixed is preserved upon a kylix-crater



FIG. 5.

which was discovered in Capua in 1878, and is now in Berlin.¹ Upon it are painted various scenes from the gymnasium, the figure to which our attention must be

¹ See A. Furtwaengler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung in Antiquarium* 2 vols., Berlin, 1885), nr. 2180. Reproductions in

directed being that of a young man, naked with the exception of a fillet of leaves upon his head, who is preparing himself for a wrestling bout. Bending his head, with his left hand he has seized the prepuce of his membrum and is drawing it forward, whilst in his right he holds a band which he seems on the point of attaching to it. The band is so arranged that a loop falls over the outside of his left thumb, the two ends being held with the ball of the thumb and the tips of the first and second fingers. Before him stands a boy, apparently in the position of servant, and naked with the exception of a cloth or mantle thrown over his left shoulder and a fillet of leaves upon his head. Above the young man are inscribed the words *Λέαγρος* [*κ*] *αλός* and beneath the boy *παῖς*, a custom which is often met with on the Greek vases. A further example which has been claimed by Stieda¹ as representing the *ligatura praeputii* about to be affixed occurs upon a fragment of a kylix now apparently in the Museo Civico in Bologna. According to Stieda's description, who reproduces a photograph of the fragment, it represents two male figures. A youth is standing on the left who holds his membrum between the forefinger and thumb of his left hand, evidently, according to Stieda, to bind it round with a thread presumably held in the right hand, which unfortunately cannot be determined owing to the state of the vase. Pellegrini² in describing the fragment agrees with Stieda that a scene of infibulation is repre-

W. Klein, *Krater aus Capua*, *Arch. Zeit.*, Jahr. XXXVII, 1879 (Berlin, 1880), pp. 31-33, taf. 4; Stieda, *op. cit.*, p. 261; Hovorka, *op. cit.*, p. 138; S. Reinach, *Répertoire des vases peints grecs et étrusques* (2 vols., Paris, 1899-1900), i, p. 424; R. Forrer, *Reallexicon* (Berlin u. Stuttgart, 1907), Taf. 262², p. 866, etc. Cf. also W. Klein, *Die Griechischen Vasen mit Meistersignaturen* (2^e Aufl., Wien, 1887), p. 197; G. von Luecken, *Greek Vase Paintings* (The Hague, 1921), pl. 6. See fig. 5.

¹ Stieda, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

² G. Pellegrini, *Bologna, Museo Civico; Catalogo dei vasi greci dipinti delle Necropoli Etrusche* . . . (Bologna, 1912), nr. 420, p. 201.

sented, but there are serious discrepancies between Pellegrini's account and the photograph obtained by Stieda which make it doubtful if it is the same fragment in both cases.¹ The state of the vase is however such that no valuable information can be gathered from it, even if it does represent infibulation, which is certainly possible, as is also the case with a psycter from Corneto by Peithinos, which was discovered during the Marzi excavations in the years 1874 and 1875. Upon one side it shows a naked boy with a garment of some sort over his right shoulder, together with a knotted staff. He is holding out with his right hand an oil-jar (*lekythos*) to a bearded man standing opposite to him. This figure is in a slightly bent position, and with his two hands he is drawing forward the prepuce of his *membrum* as if to apply a band as in the case of the vase in Berlin which we have already considered.² Birch, writing in 1851 of two vases apparently acquired by the British Museum, speaks of one on which is painted the figure of a naked youth having an apron (*Schurz*) bound over the genitals, and proceeds to compare it with already existing examples of *ligatura praeputii*.³ As the authorities of the British Museum are apparently unable to trace the acquisition of this vase, and know of no such object in the collection, it is impossible to say more than that

¹ Pellegrini writes: "*Scena d'infibulazione. Un fanciullo, chinandosi sulla persona, tiene afferato con la s. il prepuzio del membro ed è in atto di infibularsi con la d. (corticella, manca). Sotto di lui, in terra, uno strigile. Dinanzi a lui, pure alquanto curvo sulla persona, stava un uomo barbato con l'himation sotto l'ascella s. (forse appoggiato a bastone) di cui son perduti la testa ed il braccio d.*" In Stieda's illustration no strigil is visible, and there are other differences. It has been elsewhere said that "*nel centro due efebi, nudo l'uno et con clamide al braccio l'altro, tenendosi il membro, sono in atto di cingerne il prepuzio con un nastro, senza dubbio per prepararsi alla lotta.*" (*Museo italiano di antichità classica* (3 vols., Firenze, 1885-90), ii, col. 21, sep. 76.)

² See P. Hartwig, *Die Griechischen Meisterschalen* (Stuttgart u. Berlin, 1893), pp. 264 ff. See also the note on the last page concerning a similar vase but much restored.

³ J. Birch, *Arch. Anzeiger*, Jahr. IX, nr. 31, 32, 1851, col. 88.

Birch is probably confusing the *subligaculum* with the fibula and cynodesmion, such a mistake being quite conceivable in one who was not fully acquainted with the subject. Another example on an Apulian vase in Vienna is cited by Panofka,¹ in which he says two ephebi are represented in whom from the navel a chain similar to our watch-chain hangs down to the "*verschlossenen*" member. What Panofka means by *verschlossenen* I do not know, but he may imply that the penis looks as if phimosis was present, as is common in such paintings. Unfortunately also he supplies no reference for the purpose of identifying the vase, and circumstances have prevented me from visiting Vienna as I had hoped, or obtaining a photograph of the vase, even if it were possible to trace it. Another unfortunate instance cited by Panofka in the same article is concerned with a black-figure kylix of archaic style and formerly in Prof. Gerhard's private collection. In spite of diligent research I have not succeeded in tracing the whereabouts of this vase, nor am I aware that any photograph of it exists. According to Panofka one of the figures painted upon it represents "an ithyphallic Seilenos, with a caricature-like cast of countenance, a horse's tail and goat's legs. The phallos is fastened in the loop of a long cord (*in die Schlinge einer langen Schnur*), whose ends the figure draws upwards, thereby fully achieving his purpose."² This account is certainly remarkable and I do not remember seeing anything of the kind elsewhere, nor is the "purpose" mentioned by Panofka in any way clear.

A few more specimens from the vases shall be noticed and then we will pass on to the Etruscan mirrors. On an Attic red-figured bowl (about 400 B.C.) in the

¹ T. Panofka, *Von den namen der Vasenbilder in Beziehung zu ihren bildlichen Darstellungen*, *Abh. d. Berl. Akad. d. Wiss.* aus d. Jahre 1848, Berlin, 1850, Phil.-hist. Klasse, p. 183.

² See T. Panofka, *loc. cit.*; D. Raoul-Rochette, *Lettre à M. Schorn; supplément au catalogue des artistes de l'antiquité grecque et romaine* (Paris, 1845), p. 33, who wrongly describes the vase, and L. Stieda, *op. cit.*, pp. 269 ff.

Imperial Museum in Berlin is the painting of a seated female figure before whom stands a nude youth, having apparently the *ligatura praeputii* in position,¹ a painting which is reminiscent of one reproduced by Passeri in which there is also represented a seated female figure, a youth standing before her, having his *membrum* seemingly tied up, the ends of the band being visible.² It is a pity that there is no indication as to the source from which this vase was taken, as Passeri's reproductions are far too imperfect to admit of any definite assurance that this vase really does furnish us with an actual illustration of the custom under consideration.

We will close this section on vase-paintings by the examination of one more extraordinary example which has long puzzled archæologists, and which occurs on a vase which has not yet apparently come to light, the painting being known through Tischbein's reproduction.³ The subject dealt with is ancient Greek comedy, in which are represented among others a couple of burlesque comedians. They stand opposite each other and are dressed in the ordinary masks and costume of the Greek comic actor. As in so many other cases they wear the large leathern phallus, but in this painting appears a peculiarity, which, as far as I know, has never been recorded elsewhere.⁴ From the ends of the phalli appear to be fastened or at least hanging, a couple of short bands or strings, which are evidently intended to imitate similar bands worn on different figures as we

¹ A. Furtwaengler, *Beschreibung d. Vasensammlung*, nr. 2529, p. 707.

² J. B. Passeri, *op. cit.*, p. 85, tab. LXXVIII.

³ Sir W. Hamilton, *Collection of Engravings from Ancient Vases* . . . *Publ. by W. Tischbein* (Naples, 1791-1795), vol. 4, pl. 10. Reproduced in Stieda, *op. cit.*, p. 271; S. Reinach, *Répertoire des Vases*, vol. ii, p. 324, nr. 5; F. Wieseler, *Theatergebäude und Denkmäler des Bühnenwesens bei Griechen und Römern* (Göttingen, 1871), taf. 2, fig. 6, etc.

⁴ Stoll, in his work, *Das Geschlechtsleben in der Völkerpsychologie* (p. 498), implies that many examples exist of *ligatura praeputii* on false phalli, but as far as I know this is incorrect.

have seen them on the other vases. One of the actors is standing upon his toes, his right arm is raised and his left is pressed to his side. He seems to be looking downward, whilst his companion is pointing at him, seemingly in a jeering manner. The hanging ends of the band which the former comedian is wearing appear to be extended in the painting by a few spots, from which Wieseler has made the extraordinary supposition that the phallus is the man's real member and the drops the result of an *emissio seminis*!¹ Stieda rightly rejects this remarkable theory, pointing out the obvious character of the phallus worn, and also that if the *ligatura præputii* was in position an emission or even its preliminaries would be impossible. He solves the question to his own satisfaction by assuming that the spots or drops are in reality the ends of the bands, the intermediate portion having become worn away. As a matter of fact, the point need not have caused the slightest difficulty, as anyone acquainted with Greek vase paintings will at once call to mind numerous similar examples² of these small spots upon the surface of the vases which have no significance whatever.

We will now turn to the Etruscan mirrors. These objects, the greater part of which date from the fourth to the latter half of the fifth century B.C., are disks of metal, one side of which was highly polished, the other being often decorated with incised designs, in a large number of cases representing mythological scenes from Greek antiquity. The first we shall notice is an example now in the Etruscan Museum in Rome which shows the famous wrestling bout between Atalanta and Peleus.³ Peleus is naked, whilst his partner is nearly so

¹ F. Wieseler, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55.

² For instance, an excellent example is to be found in the same collection as that from which the comedians are taken. In this case the "drops" are at the ends of a *tænia*. (See Tischbein, V, 19; S. Reinach, *Répertoire*, etc., II, 339.

³ See F. X. de Maximis, *Musei Etrusci quod Greg. XVI. pon. max. in aedibus Vaticanis constituit monimenta linearis picturae exemplis expressa* . . . (2 pts. [Roma] 1842), pt. I, tav. 35; E.

with the exception of a cap upon her head and a tight-fitting garment around her loins. Seemingly hanging upon the membrum of Peleus and not tied in any way is a small piece of cord or string whose total length is just over double the length of the penis (see fig. 6). Here again we find the *ligatura praeputii* in use upon a person



FIG. 6.

engaged in athletic pursuits, a fact to which I wish to draw especial attention. Another example which may perhaps be taken as a specimen of the *ligatura praeputii* is on a mirror now in the Campana Collection in Paris. The design shows the naked figure of Heracles seated

Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel* (Berlin, 1843-88), Th. 2, pp. 212-213 taf. cxxiv; L. Stieda, *op. cit.*, p. 264. For a similar design cf. G. Micali, *Monumenti inediti* (Firenze, 1844), tav. 41. Cf. also E. Braun, *Bull. dell'Inst di Corr. Arch.*, 1837, p. 214.

upon a rock or ledge and holding in his left hand a knotted club one of whose ends rests upon the ground. Standing by him is a winged female figure, who is placing a wreath upon his head. In Gerhard's¹ outline drawing the ligatura is far from clear, but an examination of a photograph² of the mirror shows it to be much more distinct. However that may be, we must now pass on to perhaps the most famous example known, namely, that shown upon the Ficoroni Cista in the Museo Kircheriano in Rome.³ Found near Palestrina in 1738, this cista or toilet casket is of cylindrical form adorned with exquisite incised designs from the legends of the Argonauts. The central point of the design represents the punishment of Amycus, the barbarian king, after having been beaten by Pollux in a wrestling match, and the old monarch is shown being bound to a tree by his conqueror.⁴ There are many other figures upon the cista, such as Athena, Jason, Hercules, etc., but our attention must be directed to the two principal figures, namely, Pollux and the king he has vanquished. Both are naked and wear the customary Greek boxing gloves, or rather thongs (*ιμας*), and have the prepuce seemingly tied up by a small band whose ends hang down as in the paintings already examined from the Greek vases (see

¹ E. Gerhard, *Etrusk. Spiegel.*, Th. 2, p. 87, taf. cccxliii.

² In the Victoria and Albert Museum Library, nr. 99 (7190).

³ See amongst others: C. O. Müller, *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* (Göttingen, 1835-), i, pl. 61; P. Brøndsted, *Den Ficoroniske Cista* (Kiøbenhavn, 1847); Marchi, *La cista atletica del Museo Kircheriano* (Roma, 1848); A. E. Braun, *Die Ficoronische Cysta des Collegio Romano in treuen Abbildungen* (Leipzig, 1849); O. Jahn, *Die Ficoronische Cyste* (Leipzig, 1852); J. E. Harrison, *A Greek Dressing-case*, Magazine of Art, 1884, vii, 234-238; O. Benndorf, *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, 1890, taf. xii; F. Behn, *Die Ficoronische Cista* (Leipzig, 1907); W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen . . . in Rom* (2 vols., 3 Aufl., Leipzig, 1912-1913), ii, pp. 303-308; E. Feihl, *Die Ficoronische Cista* (Tübingen, 1913), etc.

⁴ See the Scholiast on *Apoll.*, ii, 93.

fig. 7). Jahn,¹ in his study of the casket, says that this band is a peculiar part of the gymnastic costume. He compares it to the custom of raising the penis as seen in the case of the Etruscan boxers, and concludes his observations by saying that it was a gymnastic contrivance used for medical reasons in order to keep it from harm. It is a little hard to see at first exactly what Jahn means, but probably he thought that by tying up the prepuce the glans was covered and so protected from any external injury that it might suffer in boxing or wrestling contests. Another point which is particularly striking even in a casual examination of the cista is the



FIG. 7.

fact that of all the naked figures Pollux and Amycus are the only ones singled out for an exhibition of the *ligatura praeputii*. It is all the more singular that Amycus should thus be chosen, since it would have been expected that if the custom was Greek he would not have been a party to it, but such a point is one rather straining the limits of artistic licence, since it must be remembered that as portrayed upon the cista Amycus is wearing the Greek boxing thongs, a custom that it is as unlikely that he would adopt as wearing the *ligatura praeputii*.

The next and last case that we have to consider is rather a curious one, since it is very uncertain as to the precise material with which we are dealing. Creuzer in

¹ O. Jahn, *Die Fic. Cyste*, p. 5.

his *Religions de l'antiquité* (4 vols., Paris, 1825-41), iv, p. 246, pl. 595a, gives an illustration of a standing male figure, nude with the exception of an Etruscan close-fitting cap. He is bending forwards a little, the left leg is slightly advanced, whilst he raises his right arm and holds a forked staff in his left. On the phallus is a double band, the ends of which hang down in two loops. According to the annotator this drawing was made by Baron Stackelberg, who said that it was a figure hewn out of the rock (*sculpté dans le roc*) from a tomb of the Tarquins and is accompanied by an inscription in Etruscan characters. According to his own view the figure is probably a "Dieu analogue à Priape," and he goes on to say that his phallus "est orné d'une bandelette," a feature which as we have said is seen in the drawings. This sculptured figure has never been traced and it seems extremely unlikely that any statue in stone having this phallic peculiarity would have survived the ages, unless, as was possibly the case, it had remained wholly undisturbed down the centuries. A wall painting has, however, been discovered, which seems an exact copy of the supposed sculptured figure even down to the inscription, but in this example *no phallus is shown at all!* Stephani (*op. cit.*, p. 155) decides in favour of the identical nature of the two figures and refers to the published reproductions¹ of the painting in order to compare them with Stackelberg's drawing. From the fact of the exact similarity of the inscription in both cases, it seems fairly certain that either Stackelberg was mistaken or the note which accompanied his drawing had been misunderstood. But what explanation can be offered for the fact that Stackelberg's original design, the phallus of the figure, is "*orné d'une bandelette*"? I do not know whether the original wall

¹ See *Musei Etrusci*, etc., i, tav. 103; L. Canina, *L'antica Etruria* (2 pts., Roma, 1846-51), tav. 87. In the Museo Gregoriano reproduction it looks rather as if the figure had been painted as if it was sculptured in rock, and this may have led Creuzer to believe from Stackelberg's description that it was actually a carved figure.

painting from which the reproductions have been made is still in existence, but as far as I can remember all the existing illustrations of the painting show it without the phallus, though it is of course just possible that it has been omitted for the sake of "modesty."

If this is indeed the case it is exceedingly difficult to say if we have here simply an ornamental feature as the writer in Creuzer's book would have us believe, or whether it is a further example of that strange custom, *ligatura praeputii*.¹ Ornamenting phallic stones with similar bands is well known, although few examples upon the human member appear to be recorded. Forlong remarks upon the custom of affixing streamers to phallic pillars in various parts of the world, and in some places he says that these ribbons are called *posthe*, although without giving any evidence for his assertion.² It may therefore be possible that we have here simply an example of a personage of sacred character connected conceivably with some generative cult, whose phallus by reason of its religious significance is honoured by having these streamers affixed to it. From the fact that the painting is Etruscan in origin and was found in a tomb it is perhaps hardly probable that it has anything to do with cynodesmion or *ligatura praeputii*.

Having now examined a representative selection of

¹ Stieda (*op. cit.*, pp. 265 ff.) seems to recollect a similar painting in Munich, where the *lig. praep.* is in position, and the reproduction in the British Museum (Third Vase Room) gives the band in front of the figure but no phallus, so probably the membrum has been omitted. In the published reproductions of such works mutilation is not rare, and one of the most extraordinary examples is that furnished by Mr. Haigh (*The Attic Theatre*, Oxford, 1907) who, in dealing with dress in Greek comedy mentions the wearing of the leathern phallus, but in the illustrations he carefully mutilates the originals by omitting this detail of the costume. Cornford rightly protests against this prudery (F. M. Cornford, *The Origins of Attic Comedy* (London, 1914), p. 183).

² J. G. R. Forlong, *Rivers of Life* (2 vols., London, 1883), vol. ii, p. 140. Further examples of these phallic streamers mostly drawn from Forlong can be found in J. B. Hannay's *Christianity* (London, 1913), pp. 57-58.

artistic works which have some connection with the subject before us, it may be found convenient to sum up the actual facts as we have seen them upon these objects. These can be arranged into three groups.

I.—THE GREEK VASES.

(a) Red-figured crater by Nikias in the British Museum. Shows a torch-runner wearing the *ligatura praeputii*. (Fig. 1 f.)

(b) Red-figured amphora in Munich. A standing athlete with ligature in position, Gerhard in his description says:—"a sign of continence." (Fig. 4.)

(c) Kylix-crater in Berlin, an athlete prepares for the gymnasium and is in the act of affixing a band to the prepuce. (Fig. 5.)

(d) Fragment of a kylix in Bologna. A youth seems to be affixing a band as in (c).

(e) Psycter from Corneto. A bearded athlete draws forward his prepuce as if to tie it.

(f) Vase recorded by Hamilton and Tischbein. Shows two comic actors, both wearing artificial phalli with bands attached to their ends similar to those in the case of the athletes mentioned above.

We have here the principal examples occurring on well known vases of which reproductions can easily be seen by any student who cares to turn them up in the volumes that I have indicated in the foot-notes. One supposed example I have purposely omitted. Hauser, in an article¹ on Hyacinth, notes "*eine tarentinier terracotta*" which shows the youth riding on a swan and holding out a long band on the end of which is apparently a little band which Hauser takes to be the cynodesmion. The figure to whom Hyacinth is proffering the band has been taken to be Apollo, but Hauser's argument seems to me to rest on so slender a

¹ F. Hauser, *Hyakinthos*, Philologus, 1894, lii (N.F. vi), pp. 209-218.

foundation as to be inadmissible. In the first place it is far from certain whether the youth upon the swan is really supposed to represent Hyacinth, and even if he does Hauser's reasons for associating him with the *ligatura praeputii* appear to me to be fallacious. They rest mainly upon a passage in Pliny's *Natural History* (xxi, 26 (97), Ed. Janus, iii, 434) where he writes concerning Hyacinthus: "*Radix est bulbacea, mangonicis venaliciis pulchre nota, quae e vino dulci inlita pubertatem coerces et non patitur erumpere*," a case where Hauser is obviously confusing *ligatura praeputii* with infibulation, since few students (Gerhard excepted) have ever connected the practice of tying up the prepuce with the preservation of chastity and the checking of an oncoming puberty. Far too little is known of Hyacinth¹ to permit us to adopt theories of this nature without more cogent proofs than those offered by Hauser in his article.

From an examination of the examples on the vases one point seems especially clear, namely, that the custom of *ligatura praeputii* was one in special favour amongst athletes and in those who indulged in gymnastic pursuits. Indeed I do not know of any vase in which the tie is visible where the wearer cannot be confidently assigned to this class. In the case of the comic actors the attachments to the phalli are presumably jokes, and worn as they are by persons in such a costume would almost certainly afford amusement to a popular audience. It may be asked how it is that on certain vases, as for instance, the magnificent Nikias crater, the painter has chosen one particular figure upon which to show the ligature in position. Such a question is not easily answered and any solution that can be offered had better be postponed until we have summed up our conclusions from the other sources.

¹ For a brief account see W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexicon* . . . (Leipzig, 1884-), Bd. i, Abt. ii, coll. 2759 ff; Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough: Adonis, Attis and Osiris*, i, 313-317.

Let us turn then secondly to

II.—ETRUSCAN MIRRORS.

(a) Mirror in the Etruscan Museum in Rome. Shows the bout between Atalanta and Peleus. A thin band apparently hangs upon the membrum of Peleus (fig. 6).

(b) Mirror in the Campana Collection in the Louvre. Heracles (?) being crowned. The prepuce is seemingly tied, the ends hanging from the membrum. An uncertain example.

In the above specimens the ligature is seen in both cases on persons noted for feats of strength, and in the first the contest is actually in progress.

III.—THE FICORONI CISTA (FIG. 7).

Pollux binds Amycus to a tree and both figures have the prepuce tied up as in the former instances. Of the very many naked figures on the casket these alone provide us with an example of this curious custom. Here again we find the practice in use among two persons both of whom are noted for their strength, and have just finished a sharply contested combat. There is no doubt that the number of times that the ligature has been associated with athletes has led archæologists like Gerhard and Jahn to explain the custom by assuming, as the former does, that it was a sign of sexual abstinence, or, as the latter contends, that tying up the prepuce was a device adopted to prevent external injuries, a theory which is followed by Hovorka. It is

¹ F. Wieseler, *Epikritische Bemerkungen über die Darstellungen aus der Argonautensage der ficoronischen Cista*, Philologus, Jahrg v, 1850, pp. 577-600. On p. 598 he mentions a native of Owaiki, as recorded by Chamisso, who tied up the prepuce in order to appear decent. "*Wer Chamisso's Reise um die Welt gelesen hat, weiss, dass ein solches Bebinden des Präputiums auch bei den australischen Wilden die vollständige Verhüllung der Schaam vertritt.*"

possible that it was from Wieseler,¹ coupled with the passage from Celsus, that Stieda was led to his assumption that the whole custom was to be explained on grounds of modesty, it being considered by the Greeks immodest to have the glans exposed. It is perfectly true that the passages in Phrynichus and Photius certainly imply that this was the case or at least partially so, but the whole theory rests on the tacit assumption that what Phrynichus and Photius call cynodesmion is that band round the prepuce that we see upon the monuments. There is, as far as I can see, no evidence weighty enough to justify us in making this assumption, the theory in reality resting upon the fact that in both cases a band appears which is used for tying up the prepuce. From what we can gather from pictorial sources the custom of *ligatura praeputii* was an uncommon practice particularly associated with the athletic profession and in point of date it may have been in use in or about the 5th century B.C. It is a dangerous thing in classical studies to dilate upon the extraordinary silences of the ancient authors upon certain subjects, but if, as Stieda supposes, all Greeks who had a short prepuce were forced to submit to the ligature on account of an overwhelming sense of shame, it is almost incredible that, seeing that the custom is portrayed on vases of the finest period, no mention whatever is to be found of this moral feeling in the writings of the great classicists. Stieda as we have seen insists upon the pointed and even childlike character of the genitals in Greek statues and paintings, but as we have already seen from Galen (p. 40)¹ those who practised sexual continence like singers

¹ Galen's remarks are commented upon by F. Roubaud in his *Traité de l'impuissance et de la stérilité chez l'homme et chez la femme* (2 vols., Paris, 1855), i, p. 373. F. Regnault in his *Les maladies des organes génito-urinaires dans l'iconographie antique* (Annales des mal. des org. gen.-urin., 1908, xxvi (ii), 1848-1859), discusses the small membrum in the case of a boxer, and after Galen decides that such atrophy may have been caused by "*un mauvais coup subi par l'athlète dans ses dangereux exercices*," which led to "*une orchite traumatique*."

and athletes were supposed to have their members rugose and shrunken. Indeed the facts seem to force us to adopt one of two theories to account for this extraordinary practice. The first is to accept Stieda's hypothesis, supported by Phrynichus and Photius, that the Attics were ashamed at an exposure of the glans; and when this was the case or was likely to occur, they prevented it by drawing the prepuce forward and tying it up by a thread which was called the *κυνοδέσμη*, a word used because the membrum being called *κύων* (dog), the band that secured a part of it could be properly called a dog-chain, *δεσμός* being the word for chain or band. How far this interpretation can be considered correct can scarcely be decided until we know more of the sexual life of early peoples and especially of the ancient Greeks.¹ If, on the other hand, we reject the descriptions of Phrynichus and Photius as applicable to the *ligatura praeputii* as seen upon the vase paintings and elsewhere, then we shall have to fall back upon some other theory which seems to fit the facts better than that propounded by Stieda and half accepted to-day by the majority of classical and medical archæologists. We have seen how Japanese athletes are sometimes accustomed to tie up the prepuce to prevent their vitality being drained away, and also how rings and knots possess similar properties according to various popular legends. It may well be that such a belief or rather superstition was held among certain of the Greek athletes, and thus finds a rare expression upon those paintings and works of art which illustrate the pursuits of the palaestra. If a superstition of this nature were not common, but one held in isolated localities, and then only by a few persons, no mention of it would naturally be found in the writers of the period, and possibly

¹ Jüthner in a recent volume of Pauly-Wissowa wavers between the moral and protective theories, but the article is very incomplete, and he apparently accepts the testimony of both Pollux and Hesychius as referring to the *ligatura praeputii*. (See *Real Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Neue Bearb., Stuttgart, 1894-), vol. ix (1916), cols. 2543-2548.)

Phrynichus himself was wrongly informed. Such a custom would also occasion laughter if worn by the comedian upon a large leathern phallus, especially if his dress and manner did not lead one to suppose that he was a great athlete by profession. But suppose we accept the interpretation of Stieda and of his followers that it was a custom based on modesty, it seems almost impossible to explain its occurrence upon such an article as the Ficoroni Cista. We must necessarily assume, if we accept this theory that the artist deliberately meant to imply that the prepuces of Pollux and Amycus were so disgracefully short that they had to have them tied up, a supposition which surely appears sufficiently ridiculous. Whereas, on the other hand, if the custom were based either on a desire to preserve strength, or perhaps as a sort of symbol of strength, it might be clearly understood in both cases. Pollux, in a mortal combat such as this, would naturally do everything to preserve his powers, and his victory over his enemy would be all the more glorious if it could be shown that his opponent had also taken all possible measures to be victorious.

If this is indeed the case, and my interpretation of the custom is correct, then we may expect to find in the future some literary references, perhaps obscure and at first unmeaning, which may help to throw light upon this difficult problem. Such results can only be achieved by untiring researches into the more hidden ramifications of that complicated structure, human sexual life.

As to the best name for the custom a word should be said. If we assume that the ligature as seen upon the monuments is that described by Phrynichus and Photius, whose interpretation we accept, we shall be inclined to call it *cynodesmion*, whilst, if we take the tentative explanation that I have outlined above, perhaps *ligatura praeputii* is its most convenient designation. But whichever term is chosen, the word *infibulation* should be finally discarded and should be employed only for that custom which we have already considered

in the early part of this work. The two customs are entirely different in character, aim and result, and a similar nomenclature for both leads to unavoidable confusion. If we use the term *cynodesmion* we must remember that besides being employed in antiquity in the sense of Phrynichus and Photius, it *also* bears the sense of *frenum* and as such is used by Pollux and Hesychius.

CHAPTER III.

PHALLUS CURVATUS.

IN the two preceding sections of this work, we have discussed a couple of customs, widely different in their aims and methods and yet commonly classed by archæologists under one name. We have now to consider a further phenomenon, which has also been termed "infibulation" and which differs as widely from the Greek custom of *ligatura praeputii* as does that practice from the Roman form. As far as I can gather, the only reason that the word infibulation has been applied in this case is that in it the phallus presents a curious appearance, and archæologists, being unable to offer any plausible explanation, have fastened upon the word infibulation as being sufficiently vague and misunderstood for their purposes. Before we enter upon a detailed discussion, it will be convenient if we explain very briefly exactly what this appearance is that has been believed to be due to infibulation.

Now anyone at all acquainted with the monuments of antiquity can hardly have failed to observe that in certain persons, and those not only of a mythological character, the membrum is often represented as being curved up towards the belly, or curved sideways in a remarkable way, sometimes being almost bent up into the shape of a crook. As we shall see later, it is extremely common amongst the followers of Dionysius, the Sileni and Satyrs; it is seen sometimes upon boxers, dwarfs and grotesques; and it is by no means uncommon on revellers and comic actors, terra-cotta statuettes of the latter being often furnished with the customary comic phallus, but having it bent up and curved like a bow.

The meaning of this strange appearance has never up till now been explained, and as far as I know, no even partially satisfactory solution has ever been put forward to account for it. That almost universally held by medical men and archæologists is that it is a result of the *ligatura praeputii*, although how this is accomplished in the face of all physiological laws they have not attempted to explain. Stieda endeavours to put the matter upon a more scientific basis and writes thus¹: *Der Zustand des Posthorn-Gliedes ist als die Folge einer Missverhältnisse zwischen dem eigentlichen Penis—d.h. den Schwellenkörpern desselben—und der geschlossen, den Penis umgebunden und umhüllenden Haut anzusehen.* [The condition of post-horn penis is to be regarded as the result of a disproportion between the penis proper—i.e., the corpora cavernosa—and the skin enclosing, surrounding and enveloping the penis.] How this is accomplished he explains by saying that it is the result of trying to make a short foreskin cover a long member so that this disproportion between a long penis and a short prepuce is what occasions the curvature of the organ.

Another point which naturally follows and which Stieda himself recognizes is that this same curving would occur, if, when the prepuce was tied up, an *erectio penis* took place. There are then according to Stieda (and no definite conclusions have ever been so much attempted elsewhere) two explanations which can be practically considered as one, namely, that this strange appearance of the *penis curvatus* is due to the fact that the foreskin through some means or another has become too short, and so, being tied at the end, it causes the organ to bend. Before considering whether such a solution can possibly be accepted in view of the representations on the monuments, it will now be our task to examine these records very briefly in order to see exactly how this phenomenon is presented to us. Owing to the very great number of existing examples, I shall only

¹ L. Stieda, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

touch upon a selection which is representative of the whole and comprises examples of all or nearly all of the extant varieties.

The first example to be adduced is the magnificent statue of a figure, believed to be Anacreon, now in Copenhagen, but formerly in the Villa Borghese in Rome and discovered in the Sabine district in 1835.¹ (See Frontispiece.) This specimen of the finest period of Greek sculpture has one peculiar feature which has puzzled every archæologist who has described this statue. The membrum is apparently bent round, upwards, and towards the left, an appearance which has led Arndt to make the following extraordinary statements. After describing the statue he goes on to say that "nous trouvons ici un exemple bien visible de l'infibulation du membre viril . . . cette coutume était de tradition dans le monde des artistes dionysiaques, auquel appartient notre poète en sa qualité de joueur de lyre." He then announces that after the holes had been drilled in the prepuce and the thread passed through, the "membre maltraité" was turned up and tied by the ends of the thread! This he says was done before "une épingle ou un anneau de métal" was applied, evidently thinking of the fibula of Celsus. After expressing astonishment that Anacreon submitted to such a custom he presumes that the poet only resigned himself to it at an advanced age.² Now since this form of infibulation was principally used for the preservation of the voices of youths, and

¹ See C. Jacobsen, *Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek* (Kjøbenhavn, 1907), nr. 409, p. 147, pl. xxviii; P. Arndt, *La Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg* (Munich, 1912), pp. 39-45, pls. 26-28; P. Wolters, *Beitraege zur griechischen Ikonographie*, Arch. Zeit., 1884, Jahr. xlii, pp. 150-162, taf. 11¹; R. Kekule, *Anakreon*, Jahr. d. kais. deut. Arch. Instit., 1892, vii, 119-126; A. Furtwaengler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture* (London, 1895), p. 63, fig. 17; G. Lippold, *Griechische Porträtstatuen* (München, 1912), pp. 36-37; W. von Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* (5^e Aufl., München, 1913), Teil 2, 2 Hälfte, fig. 8; A. Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits* (London, 1912), pl. 6a, etc.

² P. Arndt, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-45.

also for the subsidiary reasons that we have already examined in the early part of this book, it is a little difficult to see for what it would have been adopted in the case of Anacreon, and we are forced to assume that Arndt, when he wrote the account, knew very little about the subject, and that his opinion therefore need not be any further considered. On the other hand, if we accept Stieda's solution for this appearance of the phallus, we must assume that the sculptor wished to imply that Anacreon's prepuce was so short that when it was tied up it caused his membrum to curve upwards in this crooked shape, or perhaps that the artist was trying to indicate an attack of sexual feeling on the part of the aged poet! Such solutions to the mind of the present writer need only to be presented to demonstrate their absurdity, but a further series of examples will, I think, show even more clearly the inadmissible character of existing explanations.

The next well-known specimen I shall bring forward is the famous statue of the boxer in Rome, which was discovered in 1885, and is possibly of Greek origin. Helbig in describing the statue speaks of the extraordinary ferocity and brutality of the face and says that the membrum, as is often the case in athletes, is bound up (*emporgebunden*).¹ No tie is however visible, nor is there any indication that a ligature of this sort ever existed. With this may be compared the statue of Marsyas in the Villa Borghese, concerning which Helbig writes, "As is frequently the case amongst athletes, actors and flute players, the penis is bound up (*emporgebunden*), a practice of which we do not yet know with certainty whether it was from a medical or æsthetic motive."² In this case again the tie cannot be seen and the membrum itself has been mutilated.

Another example of a boxer is a figure which was

¹ W. Helbig, *Führer*, etc., ii, nr. 1350, p. 136. Cf. also *Antike Denkmäler* (Berlin, 1887-), I⁴; R. Lanciani, *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (London, 1888), pp. 304 ff.

² W. Helbig, *op. cit.*, ii, nr. 1564, p. 252.

discovered in 1869 at Autun. According to Reinach, the statuette is "pourvu de la κυνοδέσμη,"¹ but from a photograph² it is apparently an example of the curved form of phallus, no bands or loops being observable. Amongst followers of Dionysius it is especially common. For instance, on a peliké from Gela of which Farnell³ gives a plate, an excellent example can be seen, and Pollak describes a signed vase in which Dionysius is shown fighting, his phallus being bent up to a remarkable extent⁴ (see fig. 2, a, b). I have said how this form is often met with among the followers of Dionysius, and this is particularly the case with the Sileni, not only in the vase paintings but also in the statuettes. Thus in Naples a small bronze figure is preserved in which this feature is easily discernible, with which may be compared a figure of Pan now in a museum in Athens.⁵ Similarly on a red-figured lekythos from Athens, now in the Museo Civico in Bologna, Silenus is represented bald and crowned with ivy, the membrum being curiously bent round, an example which may well be compared with two other specimens in the same museum⁶ (fig. 2, e). The fact

¹ S. Reinach, *Antiquités nationales: description raisonnée du Musée de Saint-Germain-en-Laye: Bronzes* (Paris, 1894), p. 206. Cf. also *Mémoires de la Société Éduenne*: (nouv. série, Autun, 1872-, i, p. 405.)

² In H. Bulle's *De Schöne Mensch im Altertum* (2^e Aufl., München, 1911-1912), p. 186, taf. 96.

³ L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* (5 vols., Oxford, 1896-1909), v, p. 266, pl. 48; cf. also O. M. von Stackelberg, *Die Graeber der Hellenen* (Berlin, 1837), taf. xl.

⁴ L. Pollak, *Zwei Vasen aus der Werkstatt Hierons* (Leipzig, 1900), p. 31, taf. v.

⁵ P. Arndt and W. Amelung, *Photog. Einzelaufnahmen*, nrs. 504 and 709.

⁶ G. Pellegrini, *Bologna. Museo Civico. Catalogo dei vasi antichi dipinti . . . descritti dal G. Pellegrini* (Bologna, 1900), nr. 297, p. 51, figs. 38, 39, and the same author's *Catalogo dei vasi greci dipinti . . .* (Bologna, 1912), nrs. 190, 241, pp. 71, 97. Similar phallic curvature sometimes occurs upon enormous statues. Cf. the *faunes porteurs* of the Louvre: W. Fröhner, *Notice de la sculpture antique du Musée Impérial du Louvre* (Paris, 1869), p. 277; J. M. R. B. de Saint-Victor, *Musée des antiques* (3 vols., Paris [1811-27], iii, pl. 13.)

that Silenus is so often represented as bald is extremely interesting, and goes back to a widely held belief that baldness was a sign of lubricity, so that in the monuments of antiquity we often find those mythological characters noted for their lascivious inclinations represented as bald. Aristotle in his *Hist. Anim.* III and also in the *Problems* mentions this fact and he also states that in debauchees the eyebrows are often accustomed to fall out.¹ Similarly Pliny in *Nat. Hist.* XI, (37(47)) declares that baldness is not found on geldings and on those who do not sacrifice to Venus, a statement followed by Ancillon when he says that eunuchs are never bald, giving as a reason that "ils ont le cerveau plus entier que les autres hommes à qui Vénus en fait perdre une bonne partie, leur semence tirant de là sa principale origine."² Knight says the same thing, stating that baldness is a mark of sterility acquired by excessive venery, and he mentions a gem in which Silenus is represented as bald.³ The belief seems to have penetrated down to modern times, although it seems to have but little basis in physiological fact. The general opinion appears to be that a gay life, by undermining the general health, contributes to the appearance of alopecia,⁴ but Jackson and McMurtry point out that the disease is extremely common among brain workers,⁵ whilst Robinson in noticing the theory that among the exciting causes of

¹ Arist., *Prob.*, iv, 20.

² M*** D***, *Traité des eunuques* [by C. Ancillon], 1707, p. 39.

³ R. P. Knight, *An Account of the Remains of the Worship of Priapus* (London, 1786), p. 71. For other examples upon antique gems see A. Furtwaengler, *Die antiken Gemmen* (3 vols., Leipzig, 1900), taf. xvi, nr. 70; T. Worlidge, *A Select Collection of Drawings from Curious Antique Gems* (London, "1786"), plates 18, 61, 77. [Quarto ed.] The idea was quite common in the seventeenth century. Cf. J. Langius, quoted by J. Eschenbach, *Satyriasin et priapismum* (Jenae, 1670), p. 35.

⁴ See *Twentieth Century Practice*, ed. T. L. Stedman (20 vols., London, 1895-1900), v, p. 584.

⁵ G. T. Jackson and C. W. McMurtry, *A Treatise on Diseases of the Hair* (London, 1913), pp. 81, 89.

baldness are excesses in *Baccho et Venere*, mentions the fact that Gumer compiled a long list of bald Emperors and Kings who had distinguished themselves by their dissipated habits, numbering amongst them Tiberius, Claudius, Galba, Commodus and Henry III of France.¹

In certain cases the membrum is drawn upward and slightly bent, as if a case of priapism was intended to be shown.² This is probably a variation of the usual form, and it is extremely interesting to note how the devil, as he is described when appearing at the witches' Sabbaths, is supposed to have a similar bent and twisted member. Thus L'Ancre in his remarkable description of the debauches says that the devil's membrum is called by an observer "*entortillé et sinüeux en forme de serpent*"³ whilst the same feature has been noticed in rude drawings of Robin Goodfellow on early English printed ballads.⁴

In a few cases the bent and curved phallus is found in the case of negro slaves and the British Museum possesses a beautiful example of this variety in the collection of Greek and Roman antiquities. It is a bronze statuette of a young negro, 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. high and of the late Republican or early Imperial Roman period. Found in Perugia, it was presented in 1908 by Mr. W. C.

¹ T. Robinson, *Baldness and Greyness* (4th ed., London, 1902), p. 56. With this notion may well be compared the belief that a large nose is symbolic of a large member, and thus is often connected with excessive amorous propensities. Cf. A. Beccadelli, *Panormita, L'Hermaphrodite* (Paris, 1892), p. 12; G. J. A. Witkowski, *La génération humaine* (5^e éd., Paris, 1884), p. 42.

² Cf. Comte de Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités* (7 vols., Paris, 1752-67), iv, pl. 24, nr. v, and G. B. Piranesi, *Vasi, candelabri . . .* (2 vols. [Paris, c. 1836]), pl. 53.

³ P. de L'Ancre, *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et démons* (Paris, 1613), p. 224.

⁴ R. P. Knight, *A Discourse on the Worship of Priapus . . . to which is added an essay on the worship of the generative powers during the Middle Ages of Western Europe* (London, 1865), pl. xxxvii (wrongly numbered xxxvi), nr. 2.

Alexander through the National Art-Collection Fund.¹ The figure, which is naked, shows the penis apparently drawn up towards the left, the end of the organ being raised as far as and into the surrounding hair. Over the extremity of the membrum is a raised ridge which has been thought to be a ligature or infibulatory band, but it seems to me far more probable that it is merely a realistic touch of no special significance.

The case of a dwarf is well exemplified in an aryballos from the Peytel Collection illustrating a medical scene (see fig. 2, c)². The dwarf attendant of the physician has his membrum drawn up and curved in the usual manner, although it is not such a very remarkable crook as that shown on an amphora in Hamburg where a youth of stalwart proportions is shown returning from a drinking debauch and whose membrum is almost the shape of a question mark³ (see fig. 2, d).

In the examples selected above we have seen how in the case of the Sileni, Satyrs, boxers and grotesques⁴ a curved form of phallus is shown, which seems to be a practical impossibility from the physiological point of view. It is a very remarkable fact that when dealing with physical abnormalities as portrayed in the ancient monuments of Greece and Rome, this peculiarity is almost invariably passed over in silence. Thus Regnault in his interesting summary of genital abnormalities and diseases as seen in ancient iconography has no word to say upon this, perhaps the commonest form of genital

¹ See *Guide to the Dept. of Gk. and Rom. Ant.*, p. 181; H. B. Walters, *Brit. Mus. Select Bronzes* (London, 1915), pl. 68; *Jour. of Hellenic Studies*, 1909, xxix, p. 163, fig. 16.

² See E. Pottier, *Une clinique grecque au Ve siècle* (Vase attique de la collection Peytel). *Mon. et Mém. publiés par l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, 1906, xiii, p. 149-166, pl. xiii. An easily accessible illustration is found in the *British Museum Guide to Greek and Roman Life* (London, 1908), p. 178.

³ R. Ballheimer, *Griechische Vasen aus dem Hamburger Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe* (Hamburg, 1905), nr. 9, p. 40.

⁴ Of this class Stieda (*op. cit.*, p. 276), gives an excellent reproduction.

deformity, and his silent omission of any mention of it points to his inability to offer any satisfactory explanation of its constant occurrence.¹

We will now pass on to a consideration of those examples of phallus curvatus as seen upon the comic stage. It is generally assumed that ancient Greek comedy sprang from the old Dionysiac festivals in which the phallic emblem played an important part, so we find that upon the Greek comic stage the actors regularly wore a leathern phallus attached to their costume. In many of the dances, of which the Cordax is the most striking example, obscene gestures and postures were common, in which no doubt these artificial genital appendages were used with good effect from the spectator's point of view.² It is said (and the poet himself gives us to understand) that Aristophanes tried to get rid of the indecency of these artificial phalli, although it seems fairly certain that they are presumed to be worn in some of his comedies.³ Thus Heydemann⁴ says that "there are two methods of wearing the phallus to be distinguished. The majority allow the phallus, which is very long and big, to hang down so that it sways about up and down and from one side to the other in the most laughable manner, just as Aristophanes describes it in the parabasis of his *Clouds* (538): σκυτίον καθειμένον ἐρυθρόν ἐξ ἄκρου παχύ; and by this means the comic element in the appearance of the Phylakes was not inconsiderably increased. This comic side is abolished by the second method, in which the Phylakes not too infrequently wear

¹ F. Regnault, *Les maladies*, etc., pp. 1848-1859.

² Cf. Aristoph., *Clouds*, 538, and the scholiast on the same. For the Cordax see H. Schnabel, *Kordax* (München, 1910), and cf. P. Chacon, *De Triclinio* (Amstelodami, 1664); H. Reich, *Der Mimus* (2 pts., Berlin, 1903), i, 258; ii, 497, etc.

³ Cf. Aristophanes. *The Clouds*. Ed. W. J. Starkie (London, 1911), pp. 133 ff; C. Froehde, *Beiträge zur Technik der alten attischen Komödie* (Berl. stud. f. class. Phil., N.F., Bd. 3, Heft, 1, (Leipzig, 1898).

⁴ H. Heydemann, *Die Phylakendarstellungen auf bemalten Vasen*, *Jahrb. d. kais. deut. Arch. Inst.*, 1886, i, 260-313.

the phallus. In this case the phallus is, by means of a band, bound and rolled in front and in an upward direction (vorn nach oben aufgebunden und aufgerollt)—a practice which was customary in actors and professional singers from grounds of health and was only worn on the stage as part of the Phylakes' make up. In proportion to these phallus-wearers the number of cases in which there is no phallus to tie up either tends to disappear or the organ is reproduced in such a small size that (to quote Pindar) it can scarcely be called *ὑβρις ὑψηλά*; any other ground except the whim and caprice of the painter in question seeming to me to be excluded."

It is thus that Heydemann explains the fact that many of the phalli as worn by the old comedians are represented as curved or bent up, and he goes on to say that whilst the indecency of the first variety is excluded, at the same time the bound and rolled up phallus was customary in actual life amongst actors and singers, evidently confusing the Roman infibulation with the Greek *ligatura praeputii*. Other authors avoid these errors but attribute the bent up variety to a device to do away with the obscenities associated with the free kind. Thus Körte says that the phallus is the most striking peculiarity in the costume of the ancient comedy, and he enumerates a valuable list of figures in which both varieties are represented.¹ According to his own view the bound phallus is much less visible and indecent than when it is loose and hanging, an opinion shared by Navarre² and also apparently by Mr. Cornford.³ Whether this form of curved phallus as seen on the costumes of the actors in ancient comedy is due to a desire to avoid

¹ A. Körte, *Archäologischen Studien zur alten Komödie*, Jahrb. d. kais. deut. Arch. Inst., 1894, viii, 61-93.

² Under *Histrion* in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire*, p. 220, note.

³ F. M. Cornford, *op. cit.*, p. 183. Similar opinions are expressed among others by E. Bethe, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte des Theaters im Alterthum* (Leipzig, 1896), p. 51, and R. C. Flickinger, *The Greek Theater and its Drama* (Chicago, 1918) p. 46.

indecenty is a question which it is very difficult to answer. In one particular however the theory seems to me to be decidedly weak, since if the avoidance of obscenity was desired the obvious thing to do was to discard the phallus altogether and not to have tied it up into an absurdly impossible position. It will be remembered that Heydemann confused this form as seen on the comedians with the Roman infibulation, thereby assuming that the strange condition of the phallus had some basis in fact, although this I believe to be quite inadmissible. If we had nothing similar elsewhere, the theory that the "bound" phallus was part and parcel of an endeavour to suppress indecenty in the comedy might be accepted as a solution; but seeing that this phenomenon appears in so many statuettes and paintings of persons in real life, such an explanation leaves much to be desired. It seems more probable that the curved membrum as worn by the comic actor was an imitation of the curved membrum as seen on the satyrs and boxers which we have already discussed.

The next point to be considered is whether any such phallic curvature is known to medical science. It is perfectly true that the penis is occasionally twisted and abnormally bent, but these affections are somewhat rare and are not often met with in modern medical practice. The best known example of this is the Emperor Heraclius who was popularly supposed to be suffering from it on account of his marriage with his niece Martina. Thus Zonaras writes of him and says: "Fertum etiam inguine sursum converso faciam suam perminxisse, nisi urina, tabella imo ventri opposita, averteretur. Id ei accidisse creditum ob incestum cum fratris filia coitum."¹ It was

¹ J. Zonaras, *Annales* (2 vols., Venetiis, 1729), Lib. 14, c. 17, vol. ii, p. 68. Cf. also N. Tulpius, *Observationum medicarum libri tres* (Amstelredami, 1641), Lib. 3, c. 39, p. 252; H. de Heer, *Observationes medicae* (Lipsiae, 1645), Obs. vii, p. 111; G. Moebius, *Fundamenta medicinae physiologica* (Jenae, 1661), p. 515, "Heraclius Imperator ob ejusmodi lunatum penem, nisi tabulam imo ventri apponeret, faciem permingebat . . ."; C. Matthiae, *Theatrum historicum* (Amstelodami, 1668), p. 783, etc.

also sometimes supposed that a curvature of the penis was apt to be brought on by too much venery, for as Verduc says, "pour avoir demeuré trop longtems dans les approches impures, la verge est quelquefois restée tendue en se courbant et en se tordant . . ." ¹ and Paullini quotes the case of one Frisius whose membrum through repeated ejaculation became *curvatus* and *lunatus*, so that "si mingeret facie longius aversam latex in sublime saliebat." He goes on to mention the Emperor Heraclius and concludes by saying that a similar condition of the penis is often noticed after bathing.² It has been long known to medico-legal writers that a twisted, though not actually curved penis is a sign of active pederasty, in many cases the organ being turned almost entirely round. It is through these observations that I look for an explanation of the phallus curvatus as seen in antiquity. This strange appearance is, I suspect, a symbolic representation of a lascivious disposition and of sexual excess. We have seen how it appears upon those characters who are especially noted for their sexual excesses or debauched lives. Satyrs, Sileni, dwarfs, grotesques, negro slaves and gladiators were all supposed to be exceedingly loose in their morals, as especially were all those who followed in the train of the great Goat God. In the case of the boxer of Rome, what can be more natural than to symbolize his moral degradation as the sculptor has succeeded in doing so marvellously his physical. With his torn ears and flattened nose the artist has joined a symbol of that immoderate sexuality for which the boxers of antiquity were both famed and loved. And in the statue of Anacreon we have the poet of wine and love before us, a man noted in ancient times for the extremely lubricious character of his song, and is it not perfectly natural

¹ J. B. Verduc, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 1007-1009.

² C. F. Paullini, *Observationes medico-physicae* (Lipsiae, 1706), Cent. 4, Obs. 92. Cf. also *Miscellanea curiosa* (Norimbergae, 1691), Dec. ii, Ann. 9, Obs. cxcix, p. 358, and see also Dec. I, Ann. 3, Obs. xcvi, pp. 135-137. (Lipsiae et Francofurti, 1681.)

that his sexual excesses should be symbolized in the same way as upon the satyrs and fauns? Such an explanation as this would adequately account for the bound phallus (*αἰδοῖον ἀναδεδευμένον*) as seen on the comic actors of the Greek stage, as such a characteristic of their dress would have no greater significance than a red nose upon a modern comedian. In the one case the appearance is symbolic of a sexually dissipated life, whilst in the other the red nose is, as everyone knows, indicative of inebriation.

If the solution I have suggested above is the correct (and there is little satisfactory evidence for any really certain explanation) the modern custom of terming the appearance of the phallus curvatus infibulation must finally be abandoned. There is, as far as I can see, not a shred of evidence that this phenomenon has anything whatever to do with infibulation, and the only reason why archæologists and others insist on terming it such is that each writer follows the last instead of relying upon his own independent investigation. Indeed, as I have tried to show above, if the curved phallus be the result of *ligatura praeputii*, then we are at once involved in endless difficulties, which seem to me in the case of Anacreon to be insurmountable. On the other hand, if we accept the symbolic solution, no such difficulties are encountered. It may appear strange that no record of any such symbolism has been preserved, but arguments of this nature in dealing with classical antiquity are, as I have pointed out elsewhere, dangerous to rely on, since there are many points of interest which are of far greater importance than those which we have been considering and which are wholly ignored by the classical authors.

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Before finally concluding this work it may be well if we sum up the conclusions at which we have arrived. In the first part we considered the Roman custom of infibulation, a practice which consisted in fastening a small ring upon the extended prepuce of certain persons

for the purpose of preserving their health and the quality of their voice. We next passed in Part II to the Greek custom of *ligatura praeputii*, a practice adopted by certain persons, especially athletes and which consisted in tying up the prepuce with a small band. We saw how some authorities explained the practice by assuming that the Greeks were ashamed of a short foreskin with consequent uncovering of the glans, and therefore were accustomed to tie it up when naked to prevent an accidental exposure. It will also be remembered that an alternative explanation was offered, which rested upon the fact of the ligature often being seen upon athletes, and which suggested upon certain analogies that such a custom was based upon the belief that the physical strength might by this method be better preserved. In the third part we examined the very curious appearance of the *phallus curvatus* as represented upon the monuments of antiquity, and we concluded that in this case the phenomenon was due to a desire to symbolize a life of sexual excess, and therefore has no possible connection with infibulation, resting as it did on no physiological foundation.

How far I have succeeded in throwing light upon the customs that have been considered must be left to the judgment of medical archæologists. That the subject is of interest can hardly be doubted, and the measure of its importance can only be gauged from the weight that we attach to the detailed investigation of the sexual life of early peoples. It is the aim of this series to examine in an accurate but more or less readable manner the evidence which we possess upon customs and practices which have received but scant attention up to the present time. If the present series does something, however little, to raise the curtain on this most fruitful field of inquiry, the writer will feel himself amply rewarded.

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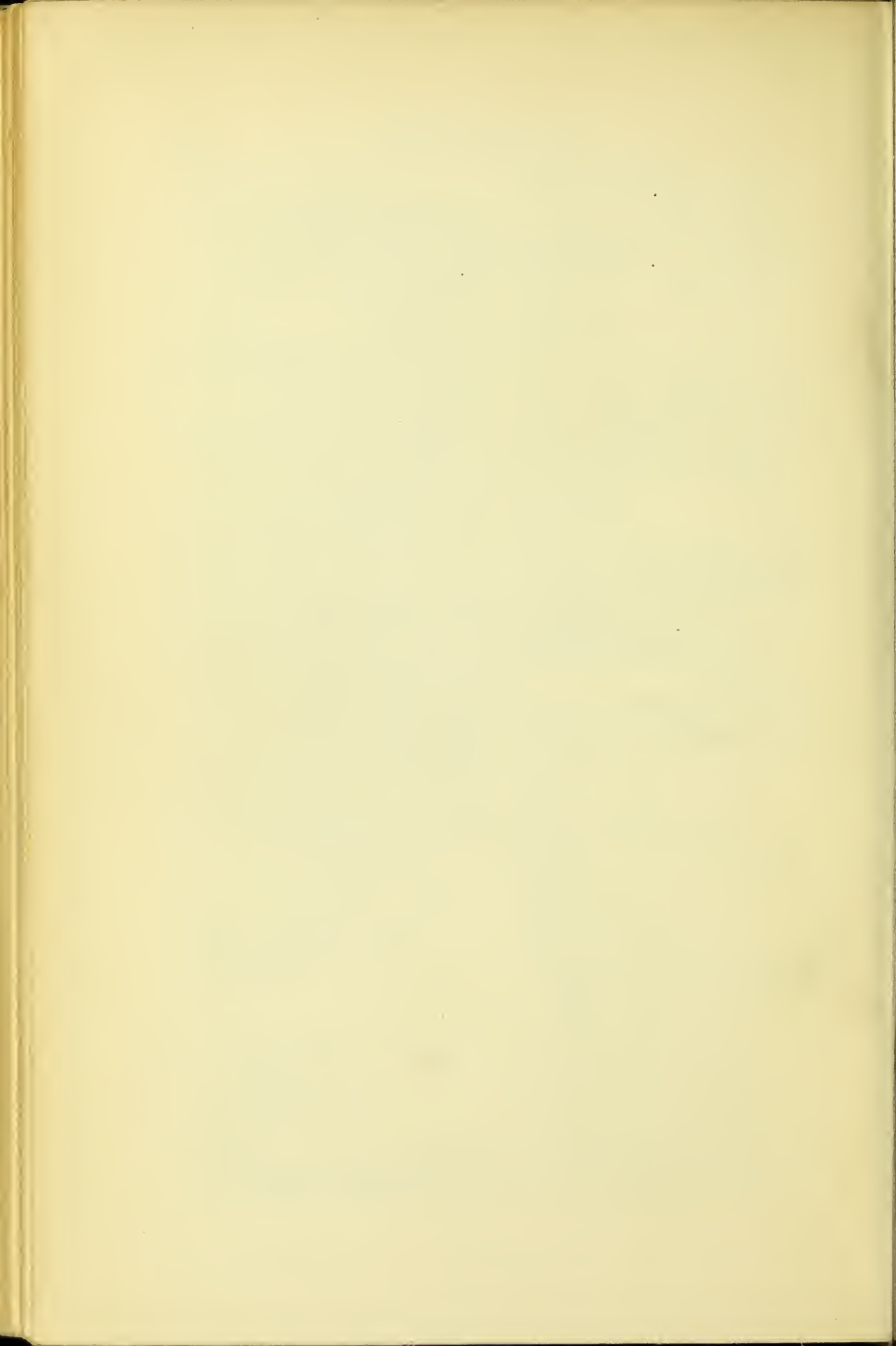
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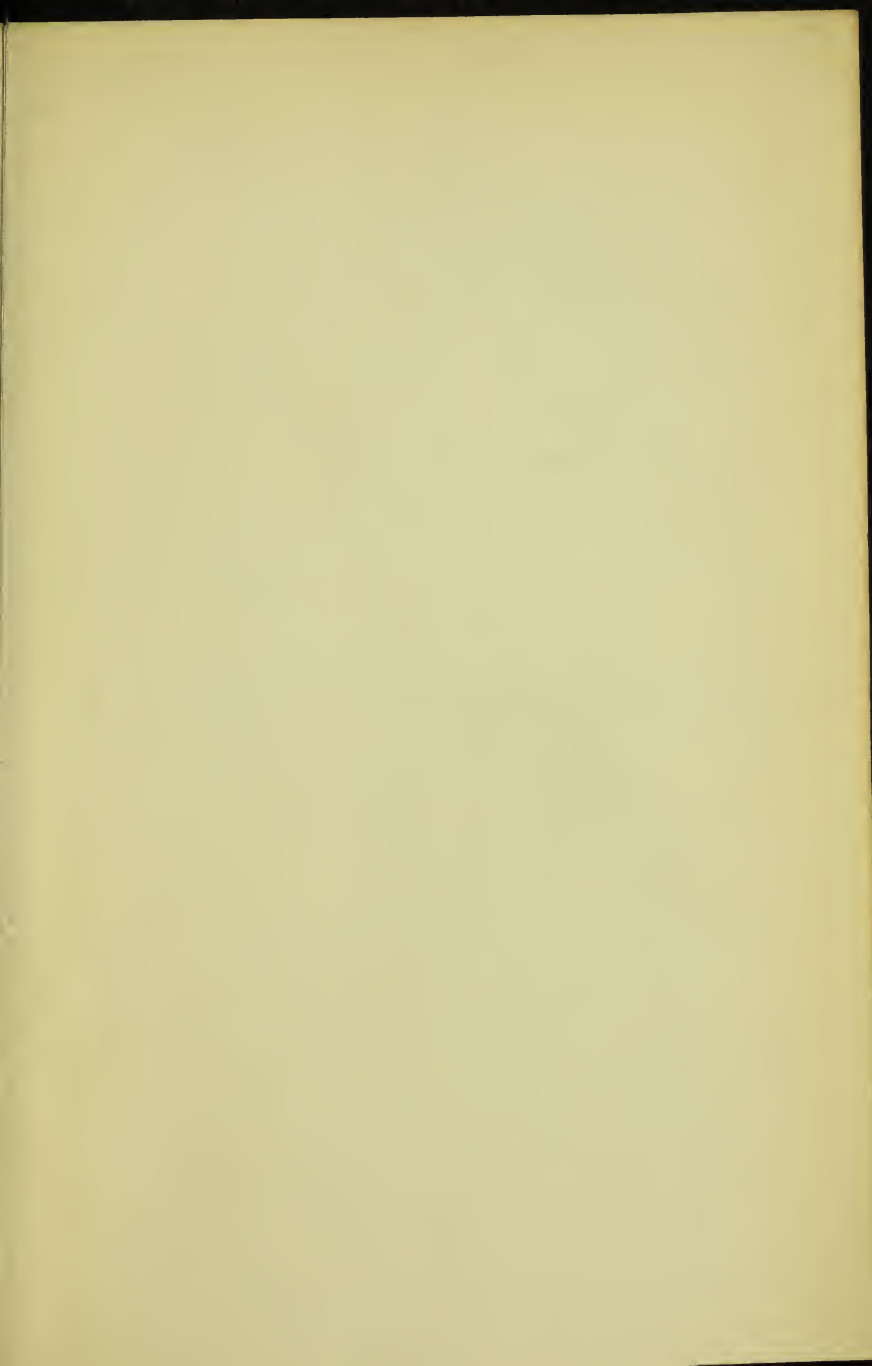
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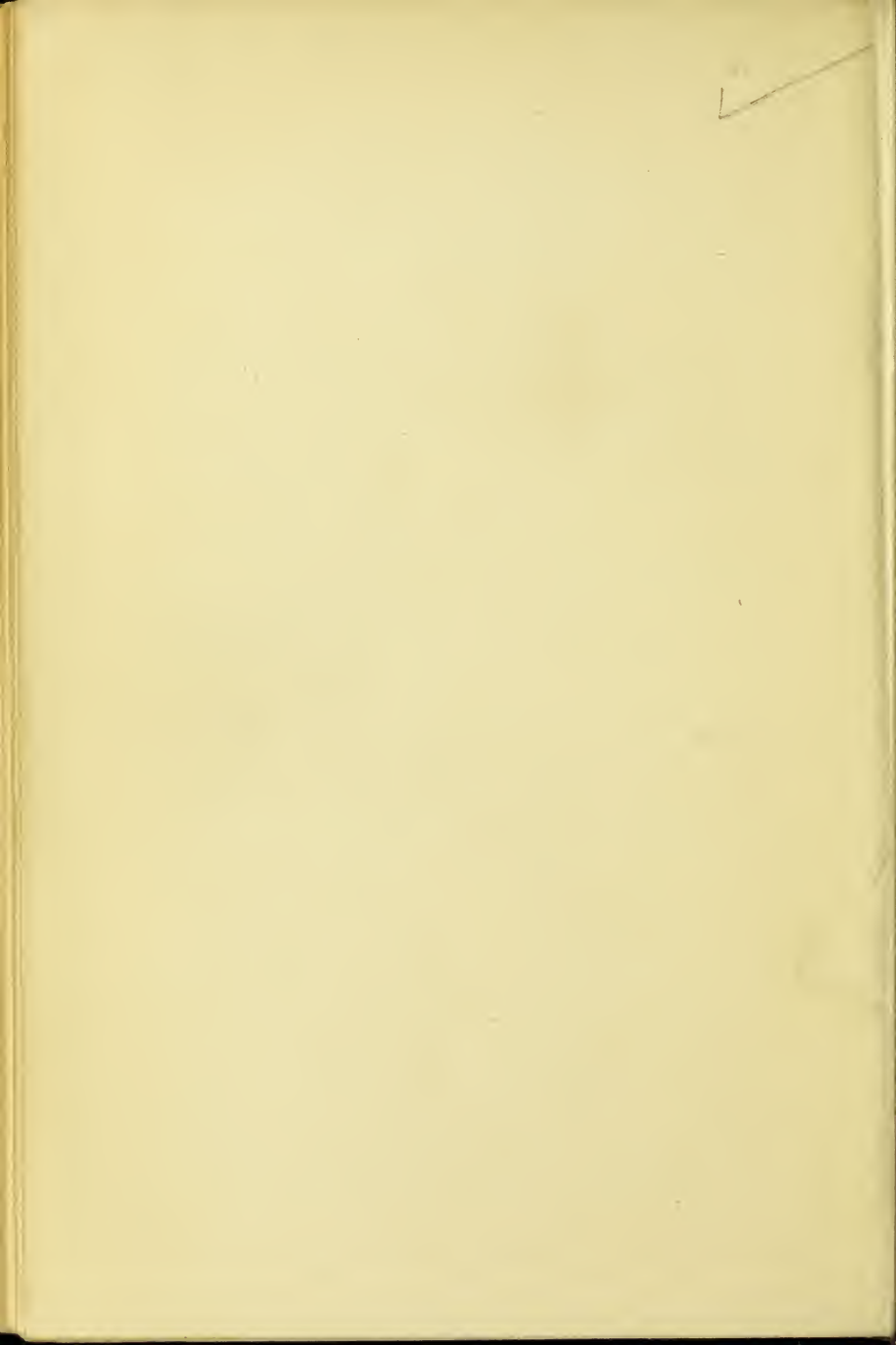
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